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CRIME IN THE COUNTRY: A LITEPATURE REVIEW OF CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN RURAL AREAS

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This working paper is available in French. Ce document de travail est disponible en français.

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ERRATUM

Please note continuation of last sentence on page 50

...areas more vulnerable to crime (Henderson 1912) compared rates in areas policed by...

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I. INTRODUCTION

> While city crime continues to catch the headlines, crime in the country remains a largely unexplored hinterland.

A. Objectives of the Undertaking

The objectives of this project are to provide a comprehensive overview of rural crime and criminal justice, and to identify major research needs in these areas. This will be undertaken primarily through a comprehensive review of available literature. Emphasis will be placed on the identification of critical research and policy issues. Although crime rates, law enforcement and judicial issues have been subject to extensive, ongoing exploration, the preponderance of such work has exhibited a distinctly urban bias. Criminological enquiry into the Canadian rural environment and its inhabitants has been largely neglected.

Perhaps this neglect has been due largely to the traditional view of rural culture as tranquil and relatively crime free. In part, this perception has been based upon historical fact, but low levels of political activism and a limited population base also have contributed to this neglect, and obscured a number of serious concerns unique to rural places.

The broad scope of this review precludes detailed analysis of specific topics. The intention, however, is to provide a base for the study and understanding of the interaction between the rural environment and our criminal justice system.

B. Method of Review

To assure maximum aggregation of available resources, various means of information-gathering have been utilized. Computer searches of the National Criminal Justice Research Service and Criminal Justice Periodical Index produced approximately five hundred rural crime references. These were drawn from both academic and professional publications. However, a significant portion of the materials from these sources proved unsuitable, frequently due to concern, primarily with technical aspects of crime and law enforcement. Although not cited in the body of the report, most such works have been included as bibliographical references.

Although many rural crime issues were dealt with extensively in the literature, a disturbing lack of Canadian references was evident. Accordingly, a manual search of Canadian journals and books relating to criminology, as well as documents from Statistics Canada and other government agencies was undertaken. In addition, written and telephone consultation with academics and professional officials in law enforcement agencies, government departments, criminological research institutes and university criminology departments provided assistance in filling informational voids. Materials received from these sources have been incorporated into this report.

The report includes, 1) considerations of theoretical and operational definitions and data limitations; 2) available findings with regard to certain parameters of rural crime and criminal justice; and 3) identification of major substantive

areas warranting further base-line investigation or analysis.

C. The Rural Environment - General Theoretical and Conceptual Issues

1. The Changing Rural Scene

Describing the landscape of rural culture in 1957, Robert K. Bierstedt wrote,

> The countryside presents a sameness to those who dwell on the land...The countryman's corner of earth imposes upon him a more homogeneous round of activity than his cousin in the city pursues. He responds more directly to the hours of daylight and the hours of night, and follows in greater harmony the progression of the seasons. (R.H. Bierstedt: 1957, p. 417).

In it's day, this nostalgic conceptualization provided, a fairly accurate description of country life, simple and homogeneous. It was the type of social system characterized by Tonnies (1961) as "gemeinschaft", in which strong familial ties, informal relationships and normative consensus bound members cohesively together. By contrast, urban, "gesellschaft" relations were seen as partial, formalized and built more upon functional interdependence than sameness.

Twentieth century mass migration of farm families and labourers to urban centers affected profound changes upon rural culture, signifying the end of an economy based exclusively on labour intensive primary industry. Subsequently, traditional social patterns have been further disrupted by in-migration. For example, in analyzing the impact of ex-urbanite settlement, McCrae (1980), found that value dissensus and socio-economic disparity were reflected in conflict between established rural

residents and newcomers.

Perhaps, even more dramatically, the rapid spread of transportation and communication technologies are bringing about the gradual replacement of local community standards by wider social patterns. Rural residents', and in particular rural youths' perceptions of themselves and their environments are changing. Urban and rural lifestyles are moving increasingly toward unity, a fact reflected in converging rural/urban crime rates.

2. Defining Rural

Rurality, both as a theoretical concept and an operational category, has proven highly elusive. More than fifty years ago, Bruce Smith observed, "it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the terms 'urban' and 'rural' often lack any precise significance". Commenting on this citation, Warner (1982) conceded, "over the past half century, we can report 'no progress' in the problem recognized by Smith".

Operationally, Statistics Canada (1981), defines urban dwellers as "persons living in an area having a population concentration of 1,000 or more, and a population density of 400 or more per square mile". Rural dwellers are then defined, residually, as "persons living outside urban areas". Similarly, American census data, treat "rural" residually, as, non-urban areas with populations of less than 2,500 persons. In their reference to "routine activity theory", the Brantinghams (1984:151) identify the "relative population density" of specific areas as the critical criterion for distinguishing urban from

rural communities". Unfortunately, they offer little guidance for the operationalization of this concept.

For operational purposes, researchers have utilized a wide variety of population criteria in dichotomizing 'rural' and 'urban'. Many have used, as their sampling frames, blocks of land comprised largely of open-countryside, but including small towns and villages, (Lentz, 1956; Lagey, 1957, Han, 1971; Boggs, 1971 and Phillips, 1975). More recently, Hodge and Qadeer (1983) defined "rural" as an area with fewer than 10,000 persons, further subdividing such areas into,

Hamlets	under 100
Villages	100 - 1,000
Towns	1,000 - 10,000 *

In the United States, despite the official census definition of rural as communities of less than 2,500, many researchers utilize the census bureau category of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) as a defining mechanism. This category includes areas surrounding units of 50,000 or greater. Residually, units not attaining this standard are considered non-metropolitan. Using this standard in his study of victimization in an area of the American Midwest, Smith (1979) generated data approximating those of other non-metropolitan victimization studies, leading the author to conclude that 50,000 residents represents a realistic threshold population at which

* In Canada, official designations of community type as operational categories, are of limited utility for purposes of comparative research. Municipalities are creatures of the provinces, and definitions are, therefore, consistent only within provincial boundaries.

urbanity begins to systematically influence criminal behavior. Under the SMSA or the Canadian equivalent, Census Metropolitan Area, the breakpoint tends to be considerably higher than when the rural/urban classification is based primarily on geographic, economic, political or demographic considerations.

For purposes of criminological research, however, such a procedure, although possibly relevant to urban definition, ignores significant differences among small cities, towns and open country.

In addition to population density, any definition of "rural", that will be adequate for criminological purposes, must take account of the isolation factor. Within rural community types there are marked differences in specific offence rates with respect to this variable. For example, in the statistical category, "Break and enter-residence". Small towns appear to exhibit tendencies in line with traditional models of low-density/low crime. Pure rural or open country, however, does not typically fit this pattern. A reasonable explanation for this may be the physical isolation which exits in the countryside. On the one hand, small communities have been practicing informal "neighborhood watches" for centuries, whereas farms or summer cottages are often isolated and offer easy targets for crime. Thus, within the statistical category of "rural", there is likely to be a significant differentiation in victimization and, hence, the rate of some crimes, based upon the presence or absence of physical isolation. Any satisfactory classificatory scheme must separate pure rural areas from small towns and villages. Consequently, Wolfe's (1985) proposal for a trichotomized model,

in which "purely rural" and "small towns" would be aggregated, must be considered unacceptable.

A further confounding variable in operationalizing the concept of "rural" relates to the regional differences in population types which characterize low-density areas. For example, cities vary in terms of geographic, demographic, political and other factors. This lack of consistency, however, is minor compared with that of rural jurisdictions. The fact that, in Canada, "rural" residually implies everything non-urban, results in the combining of such diverse groups as farmers, native peoples on reserves and in the far north, bedroom-communities, recreational and tourist areas and an array of others. Meaningful analysis must take account of these regional disparities.

Dutton, et. al. (1983) suggests a plausible classificatory model for crime-related research, utilizing the following population characterizations:

i. Transient/Stable (in and out migration)

ii. Busy/placid (number of calls for police services)

iii. Stranger/known (police-community relations: largely a function of detachment area population.)

With the addition of the isolation dimension and a variable to measure regional population type, (e.g. native area (non-reserve), farming area, tourist area, etc.), this classification system might prove very appropriate for crime-related research.

D. Conclusion

A primary problem in all sociological research involves the precise definition of the population to be studied. In rural criminology the problem is exacerbated by the residual nature of rurality--whatever areas are not urban, are rural. In addition, disparities in such regions, which might plausibly affect criminal behavior are numerous. Political, economic, geographic, ethnic, spatial, social and cultural characteristics all play significant roles. There is probably no available formula by which the relative contribution of these elements, independently or inter-actively, may be precisely, or even approximately represented.

There would, then seem to be only two reasonable options open to the investigation of rural crime. One would involve adoption of an empirical criterion of rurality, such as that proposed by Smith or Brantingham (above). Utilization of this procedure would require the establishing of a population threshold or break-point at which community size systematically affects crime patterns. Considering the wide range of behaviors classified as criminal, it would, in all probability, be desirable to adopt differential size criteria for various classes of offences, e.g. person, property, consumptive, etc. This method would produce several sub-categories of "rural", related empirically to offence levels. On the other hand, the data may indicate that certain types of communities (e.g. single-industry towns) represent unique cases, and should therefore, be treated as a distinct category.

A major problem with this proposal is its assumption that

crime rates are systematically affected by community size (a generalization not enjoying consensual endorsement at this time, in part, no doubt, attributable to the confounding effects of geographic isolation, as noted, above). Adoption of this procedure would, further, require the explicit acknowledgement of this assumption. While this method would, obviously not be useful for testing rural/urban crime rate differences, it would permit examination of the relationships between crime rates and theoretically relevant variables, such as, socio-economic status, community participation and structural-environmental factors.

A more useful design would appear to be available in a modified version of that proposed by Dutton et. al. (above). This model, as expanded, by the addition of variables measuring geographic isolation and regional population type might provide an empirically sensitive and theoretically defensible measure of rurality, as it is associated with criminal behaviour.

II. THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF RURAL CRIME

> The only reason the crime rate was so low in rural areas such as this was the close-knit social structure. When everyone knew everyone else, crime was either difficult or desperate. (John Fowles, The Ebony Tower)

A. Historical Trends in Rural Crime

1. An Overview of the Problem

Prior to the past few decades, the term 'rural crime' might have been considered a contradiction in terms by many criminal justice scholars and practitioners. Indeed, in the introduction to a recent paper, the highly regarded rural criminologists Sagarin, Donnermeyer and Carter (1982:10) refer to the "relatively recent growth of rural crime and its emergence in rural society during the (nineteen) sixties and seventies".

However, Smith (1933) noted the incidence of a severe rural crime problem in England as early as the thirteenth century, when highway robbers terrorized the countryside to such an extent that the Statute of Westminster included a provision for the clearance of two hundred feet of land on either side of all country roadways. In a reference to a later period, Webb and Webb (1913) point to the latter half of the eighteenth century when, again, England was stricken by the criminal onslaught of highwaymen and rural delinquents.

Hence, current concern over the extent of rural crime is clearly not a unique historical phenomenon. Retrospective enquiry indicates that it may, in fact, be a rather normal state of affairs.

2. Some Methodological Considerations

The incidence and patterns of criminal activity relative to rural life have been subject to two baseline dimensions of inquiry. Firstly, the historical trend toward increased urbanization, particularly throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has served as a longitudinal variable along which the effect of city living on levels of criminality have been measured. Secondly, comparisons of contemporary rate differentials along the rural-urban continuum have been examined using both official rates of reported crime and, more recently, by means of self-reported victimization data.

Unfortunately, the absence of national, standardized empirical data prior to the introduction of Uniform Crime Reports has necessarily led to a perception of historical rural crime levels based heavily upon narrative chronicle. The inherent bias of history tends to result in the recording of incidents of special interest to the historian, but neither the portrayal of gunslinging cowboys nor Quaker farmers shed much useful light on the criminal tendencies of the general populace of the period. In addition, the few retrospective studies of crime which attempt to measure criminal activity using statistical methods, rely heavily upon conviction rates, which, due to their considerable

distance from the illegal act, do not represent a reliable measure of total offences. Other factors which exacerbate these difficulties include the changing definition of criminality itself, through a mutable legal system, and the effects of changing levels of law enforcement, including the extent of proactive policing strategies.

3. Long Term Rural/Urban Trends

The precise quantification of rural crime from a historical perspective is not possible. However, a few significant insights may be gleaned from the annals of history, providing a partial understanding of historical rural crime patterns, and the effects of increasing urbanization on them.

In a review of early nineteenth century American crime, Steele (1972) compared conviction rates in Ohio County, Virginia, with those of Philadelphia. The general results pointed to higher levels of violence, but fewer property crimes in the frontier area. Sorokin et al (1930) examined documents relating to rural crime in several countries of Europe and America, covering the period 1857 to 1920, concluding that rural areas were subject to less criminal victimization than cities during this time and, further, suggesting that farmers comprised one of the least criminal occupational groups. They also noted that crimes reported from this occupational sector consisted mainly of crimes against persons.

In a more statistically sophisticated review, the British sociologist, Zehr (1976) undertook to establish a relationship

between criminal activity and differential living conditions precipitated by the industrialization, and consequent increase in urbanization in France and Germany between 1830 and 1914. Among his major findings, Zehr noted a negative correlation between the incidence of crimes of acquisition and those of violence, and a positive association relating alcohol consumption to violence. Zehr further found that, although during this era of urbanization the frequency of violence increased, rural crime was as violent in nature as that of the city and, in fact, suggests that "increases in violence during urban growth represent the retention of traditional patterns of behaviour in a new setting", concluding that "social tensions (were) higher in rural societies than was previously assumed. Tavern brawls, family squabbles and homicidal feuds served as a traditional outlet for frustration and an expression of social conflict".

In an later treatise, Bloch (1949) sought to examine the effects of the Great Depression on crime trends in St. Lawrence County, a rural area of upper state New York. Comparison of county court records in this rural community, with urban crime trends, led Bloch to conclude that village and country residents were not subject to significantly increased crime during the Depression, due primarily to the continued relative economic stability of such areas. He also suggested, however, that habitual offenders developed in small towns which lacked the formal controls of cities and the direct controls of pure rural jurisdictions.

The effects of the Depression on rural people in Canada is discussed by Tepperman (1977) and his conclusions diverge markedly from those of Bloch. Tepperman notes that a multitude of difficulties, such as repayment of debts and dwindling markets, were particularly hard on farmers, pointing out that persons employed in primary industries suffered a greater proportionate increase in convictions for indictable offences than any other occupational category. Looking back further, Tepperman hypothesized that the low rates of rural convictions prior to the Depression may have been due to a combination of a sparse and informal criminal justice system, as well as a relatively low level of anomie. He further observes that, regardless of causal factors, "the Depression had jerked the customarily quiet countryside into the turbulent mainstream of Canadian life" (180). He identifies three stages of rural/urban conviction ratios, as follows:

CHART I

Approximate Urban/Rural Crime Rates in Canada
Related to Economic Change *

Era	Approximate Ratio of Urban to Rural Convictions
"Pre-Depression"	14:1
"Depression-World War II"	5:1
"Postwar"	2 or 3:1

*Lorne Tepperman, Crime Control, McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, Toronto, Ontario, 1977: 223.

B. Rural Crime Statistics - Sources and Qualifiers

1. Introduction

The collection and interpretation of rural crime statistics is subject to the same methodological difficulties as crime data in general. This is an expansive and complex subject, outside the scope of this review to examine in a comprehensive manner. However, a summary of the aspects of measurement which affect urban-rural crime rate differentials is requisite to understanding the nature of rural crime. (For an insightful and much more detailed view of the general use of crime statistics see Oosthoek, 1977).

Galliher and McCartney (1977) offer a lengthy list of potential sources for crime-related data. Included are the reports of criminal justice agencies (police, court and correctional records), insurance companies and victimization studies. However, in the general investigation of crime rate patterns, Sellin (1931:346) contends "the value of a crime rate for index purposes decreases as the distance from the crime itself, in terms of procedure, increases". Hence, "offences known to police" - which constitutes the initial record of contact with the criminal justice system - and victimization surveys probably represent the best available sources of data.

2. Uniform Crime Reports

The Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) system was instituted by Statistics Canada, January 1, 1962, providing a significant

improvement over previously unstandarized information. All law enforcement agencies in Canada are required to complete Form C - Crime Statistics, and submit these reports to Statistics Canada on a monthly basis. These data are then aggregated and published annually (Crime Statistics, 1983).

However, from the perspective of rural criminology, the reports contain certain methodological difficulties. Of foremost concern are the following:

A. Rural detachments of RCMP and Provincial Police forces report by the community in which the detachment office is located. Each detachment also provides an estimate of the total population served, for purposes of rate calculation. However, many jurisdictions, policed under Provincial contracts, include towns and small cities. Since zoning, at the detachment level is of necessity designed for the effective deployment of officer resources, zone parameters do not necessarily follow community boundries.

B. No explicitly rural category is included in the published tables of Canadian Crime Statistics (1983, Catalogue 85-205). The smallest community size reported is 750-2,499 persons (group 9). Estimated aggregate calculations for rural areas require the creation of a residual category. (This may be accomplished by taking the offence totals of the area in question and deducting those crimes which are credited to urban areas). Until recently, a residual category was included in published reports entitled "other" or "rural". However, two sources of data contamination existed pertaining to this group. Firstly,

some municipalities are not reported as autonomous jurisdictions. A number of small and medium sized towns, particularily in British Columbia, and Newfoundland are served by the R.C.M.P. under provincial contracts, and are, generally, included in residual totals in Statistics Canada publications. Conversely, some geographically rural areas fall within the jurisdicitons of municipal or regional police forces, and thus cannot be included in the "other" category. This would appear to be a significant element in British Columbia and in Ontario, where largely rural districts are classified by total regional population.

C. Finally, offences reported by specialized R.C.M.P. units are received by Statistics Canada in aggregate form, and cannot, at that level, be broken-out by size or type of community or area in which offences occurred. The police O.S.R. reporting system does provide this information, and would permit analysis on a much more detailed basis by community. However, the time frame of this review did not permit accessing of this source. Consequently, reliance has been restricted to data obtainable from Canadian Justice statistics. This limitation probably represents only minimal distortion of national aggregate data, since these specialized R.C.M.P. units deal almost exclusively with enforcement of federal statutes, rather than Criminal Code offences.

Galliher and McCartney (1977); and Sellin and Wolfgang, (1964) suggest these same problems exist in the United States, where rural crime statistics are no more widely available than in Canada. From his analysis, Oosthoek (1977) concludes that

aggregated U.C.R. data are not suitable for multi-variate analysis, and should be conceptualized as the end-product of an organizational process, rather than as a means for examination of other realities. Nevertheless, official police statistics remain the most widely available source of information regarding criminal activity, and if the foregoing caveats are taken into account, their use seems well justified, considering,

> The fact that UCR data is based on a count of those criminal events which are known to the police means that the crimes that are counted by the UCR system are a subset of all crimes in Canada. But this characteristic also means that all the crimes which are included in the UCR data system have successfully passed a uniform seriousness criterion-each of the crimes which is counted in the UCR system was thought by someone (a citizen or a law enforcement officer), to be sufficiently serious to report to the police.
>
> (Crime Statistics, 1983, p. 10)

3. Victimization Surveys

In response to the problematic nature of official data, some crime researchers have begun employing an information-gathering technique known as the "victimization survey". The procedure consists of interviewing a sample of residents in a given area, ascertaining whether they have been the victim of any crimes within a specified period of time (usually the past year), and aggregating relevant data for the population under study. Prior to the National Crime Survey in the United States (U.S. Department of Justice, 1979), and a similar Canadian undertaking, as yet unpublished, these studies had been conducted almost exclusively by academic researchers, on a narrow regional basis.

In recent years, rural victimization studies have been undertaken in several countries. The best of these have been conducted by Donnermeyer and Phillips of the National Rural Crime Prevention Center, Ohio State University. The Gallup organization also conducts extensive victimization self-report surveys including an urban/rural breakdown (March, 1983).

Victimization self-report projects are of greatest utility when employed for hypothesis-testing and program evaluation. Due to the considerable expense inherent in collecting survey data, care must be taken to establish methodological soundness and specific goals, when planning such projects. In addition, some special difficulties need to be addressed to ensure reliable victimization data for rural areas:

a) Many rural jurisdictions are subject to seasonal population fluctuations due to an influx of tourists. In such areas, it would be critical to design victimization studies to include cottage owners and other transient persons;

b) Due to the vast differences in the social and economic structures of rural places (for example primary industry regions, bedroom communities, Native reserves), caution must be exercised in selecting survey samples, and in applying findings to non-metropolitan areas of a substantially different character; and

c) In some tightly-knit rural communities residents may be reluctant to disclose information. Emphasis should be

placed on assuring respondents of the confidentiality of the information provided.

The difficulty in delineating specific rural areas in official statistics should make this a useful method for collecting data. Nevertheless, victimization surveys should not be viewed as a replacement for law-enforcement based crime statistics, but as a complementary research tool, as indicated in the following chart:

CHART II

Comparison of Characteristics and Applications of Rural U.C.R. and Victimization Data

(A)

General Utility of Data

Characteristics	Uniform Crime Reports	Self-Report Surveys
Methodology Employed	- consistent	- not consistent among studies
Data Integrity	- reliable (as measure of offences officially processed)	- variable among studies
Continuity	- Annually, all places	- occasional over place and time
Data for comparative and longitudinal study	- 1961 (Canada)-Present 1931 (U.S.A.)-Present	- occasional - occasional
General Utility for trends in rural crime and the impact of the justice system	- Suitable	- not suitable

(B)

Specific Applications and Limitations of Data

Offences not reported to police	- Undetectable	- Somewhat detectable
Analysis using cognate census data	- Not possible as jurisdictions do not normally follow political boundries	- Suitable if research population respects political (census) boundaries
Ability to assess public concerns	- Not possible	- Possible (as above)
Specific descriptions of offense and victim	- Not available	- Possible
Specific utility for analysis of corelates of rural criminal victimization and assessment of crime prevention efforts	- Not suitable	- Suitable

4. Loss of Information

Although police reports reflect the initial contact with the justice system, the potential loss of data, at this stage can be considerable. In a study of Vermont police, Ward (1982) found that fifty-eight small law-enforcement agencies in the state failed to file crime reports. Statistics Canada, however, claims a submission rate of over ninety-nine percent, (Crime Statisics, 1983, p. 15), although, upon inspection, seven municipalities ranging in population from 3,000 to 4,900 report zero offences. (Crime Statistics, 1983, Table 4)

A more significant loss of information occurs due to the undetected or unreported status of many criminal incidents. Reporting behaviours of country and city residents may have a significant impact upon rural-urban crime rate differentials. The effect of this factor has yet to be determined in terms of direction or degree. However, most research indicates non-reporting to be somewhat higher in rural jurisdictions. A vote count of American victimization studies comparing urban and rural communities, shows seven studies indicating higher rural rates of non-reporting (Smith, 1979; Beran and Allan, 1974; Newman, 1978; Eyn, 1977; Smith, 1980; Galiher et al., 1980; Gallup, 1983), with only two dissenting, (Jamieson, 1981; Laub, 1981).

Traditionally, such results have been attribued to the effects of community solidarity. For example, Haskell and Yablonsky (1970) suggest low rural reporting rates may stem from the more intimate relationships between neighbours in rural areas. Newman (1978) and Jamieson (1981) attempted to explain

differential reporting patterns, through attitudinal differences between city and country people but found no significant association with reporting behaviours.

The issue of citizen crime reporting behaviour is critical to differences along the rural-urban continuum. A meta analysis of currently existing studies relating to this phenomenon, including the impact of methodological procedures on observed nonreporting, might prove most insightful.

It should be noted that vicitmization surveys cannot completely resolve the problem of missing data. Undetected crimes are impossible to assess by any method. In addition, recall reliability is always problematic in retrospective interviewing, and systematically biased responses are often associated with self-report studies.

5. Regional Disparity

As previously mentioned, the great diversity in areas defined as 'rural', by the Uniform Crime Reporting System, hinders theoretical analysis of offence data.

Findings from one region often bear little resemblance to the reality in another. For example, in an early study, Wiers (1939) found that Michigan counties in which logging was the major industry tended to have much higher crime rates than agricultural counties.

According to U.C.R. data the extent of crime in rural Canada is widely variant. Many of both the highest and lowest rates of

total crime reported in Canadian Crime Statistics, 1983, are for towns of under 2,500 population. For example, St. Adolphe - D'Howard, Quebec, Ste. Anne, Manitoba and Mildale, Saskatchewan report "all offence" rates of under two thousand per hundred thousand residents, whereas Richibucto, New Brunswick, Lynn Lake, Manitoba and Lac La Biche, Alberta have corresponding rates of 27,000, 31,000 and 70,000 per hundred thousand, respectively.

Simple bi-variate analysis correlating rurality to crime rates is doomed to failure. Hence, extreme caution must be observed in applying general rural crime theories to specific communities.

When aggregated beyond the level of a specific community, rural crime rates, whether derived from official police statistics or victimization self-reports are of limited utility in assessing vulnerability to crime. The literature suggests that studies of victimization in rural areas should concentrate on 1) ecological factors-such as isolation, 2) routine activity patterns, including guardianship provided through occupation, 3) temporal patterns by specific offence, and 4) the deterrent impact of individual, community and police crime prevention efforts.

C. Crime in Rural Canada

1. Introduction

Official crime statistics, world-wide, have traditionally reported rural crime as minor in comparison to urban offence rates.

Wolfgang and Christiansen (1968) found that American crime rates in urban centers exceeded those of non-metropolitan areas. A United Nations Report (1984) indicated crime rates in Hungary varied from 1,042 per 100,000 in the capital city, to 42 per 100,000 in villages.

However, contemporary crime rate observers point to a significant change in official trends (Block and Miller, 1982). Teske (1984), notes that American Uniform Crime Reports identify "rural" as the fastest growing crime jurisdiction, during the past decade. Between 1969 and 1978, the total crime index increased forty-three percent more rapidly in rural than urban areas (Swanson, 1981).

Victimization studies tend to confirm this pattern, despite the difficulty of comparing results, due to variation in methodology and survey regions. The general results indicate that approximately one-fourth of American rural households suffer some criminal victimization each year (Galiher et al., 1980; Donnermeyer, 1978). Jamieson (1981) suggests this represents only a slightly lower rate than those reported in comparable urban studies.

2. Canadian Comparative Data

Table I

Summary of All Criminal Code Offences

Per Hundred Thousand by Community Size,

Canada 1983*

Community Size	Offences per 100,000 Population
10,000 and over	9,985
750 - 9,999	7,846
Other	5,550

* Data summarized from tables in Statistics Canada Catalogue #85-205, Canadian Crime Statistics, 1983. The "Other" category of Community size was calculated residually.

Data in table I indicate that cities of ten thousand and over exhibit the highest crime rates in Canada, followed by smaller towns, with "other" places having the lowest rates.

Data available from U.C.R national aggregates (1983) have been re-organized under classifications relevant to available literature dealing with comparative rural/urban offence rates (see Table II below). In view of the theoretical weaknesses inherent in U.C.R. data, for this type of analysis, these statistics should only be interpreted as indicators of general directional trends, rather than precise measures of criminal activity. Viewed in this manner, a number of general patterns are discernible, and the data serve to illustrate and inform discussions of hypotheses and theoretical analysis in rural crime

literature. Each major offence category will be discussed separately, with the relevant portion of the table re-produced for convenience of the reader.

Table II

Criminal Code Offences per Hundred Thousand Population by Community Size, Canada, 1983

Personal Violence Offences

Community Size	Homicide and Attempted Murder	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Kidnapping and Abduction
10,000 and over	7	65	548	6
750 - 9,999	4	52	516	5
Other	6	49	451	4

Offences Against Public Order and Wilful Damage

Community Size	Obstructing a Public Peace Officer	Disturbing the peace	Trespass at Night	Wilful Damage Public	Wilful Damage Private
10,000 and over	26	167	46	115	1206
750 - 9,999	34	436	70	180	1144
Other	25	220	46	114	688

Acquisitive Offences

Community Size	(Personal) Robbery	(Household) B&E-Resid.	(Motor Vehicles) of M.V.	(Motor Vehicles) from M.V.	(Public Places) B&E-Bus.*	(Public Places) Theft	(Public Places) Fr
						Other	
10,000 and over	138	1005	368	1628	484	2683	53
750 - 9,999	26	410	239	724	452	2112	53
Other	17	561	169	418	284	1203	32

Proactive Enforcement Policy Offences

Community Size	Municipal By-Laws	Provincial Statutes	Vice**
10,000 and over	521	1131	88
740 - 9,999	550	3066	27
Other	34	2637	14

* "B&E other" has been omitted since it represents a miscellaneous category and includes a relatively small number of offences.

** Vice includes prostitution, gambling and public morals offences.

Data in this table were calculated from Canadian UCR aggregate data in Statistics Canada Catalogue 85-205 and other UCR data made available by the office of Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics.

3. Personal Violence

Community Size	Personal Violence (from Table II)			
	Homicide and Attempted Murder	Sexual Assault	Other Assaults	Kidnapping and Abduction
10,000 and over	7	65	548	6
750 - 9,999	4	52	516	5
Other	6	49	451	4

Criminologists have long noted that violence characterizes a major segment of rural crime. Parmelec (1921) found crime in rural Italy to be exceedingly violent. Analyzing Canadian data from the same period, Tepperman (1976), concluded that offence rates for crimes against persons in 1921, differed little for urban and rural areas. Fifty years later, Giffen (1976) re-affirmed that no significant correlation exists between community size and violent crime.

In commenting on his 1921 data, Tepperman (1976) hypotheizes that the relatively greater police presence in cities failed to deter violent crime, while equal opportunity for such offences existed in rural and urban settings. Bankston and Allen (1980), on the other hand, attribute rural violence to "cultural tradition", and poverty. Kaplan (1961) characterizes the "rural cultural tradition" as emphasizing "self-sufficiency", "sensitivity to personal affront" and "an individualistic tradition".

Laub and Hildelang (1980) note that assault accounts for a disproportionate amount of juvenile criminal behaviour in rural

places, further pointing out that rural assaults are of equal seriousness as urban assaults. Warner's (1982) analysis of American UCR data for 1976 reveals that the rural rate of "offences against family and children" exceeded the urban rate by a ratio of almost two and a half to one. (No comparable category exists in Canadian crime data.)

The 1983 Canadian crime rates (Table II) reaffirm rather minimal differences of violent victimizations for non-instrumental crimes of violence in city, town and other jurisdictions. Regardless of hypotheses purporting to explain this lack of variation, the rural-urban continuum in itself does not appear to be a major correlate of violent behaviour.

4. Offences Against Public Order and Wilful Damage

Offences Against Public Order and Wilful Damage (From Table II)

Community Size	Obstructing a Public Peace Officer	Disturbing the peace	Trespass at Night	Wilful Damage Public	Private
10,000 and over	26	167	46	115	1206
750 - 9,999	34	436	70	180	1144
Other	25	220	46	114	688

This category of offences has been variously described as "recklessness", "rebelliousness" and "hell-raising" in criminological literature. Whatever terminology is used, this class of criminal behaviours, along with alcohol related offences, constitutes a serious problem in rural, and particularly small town policing jurisdictions.

Rural vandalism has been a subject of great concern at the

National Rural Crime Prevention Centre (Ohio State University). Numerous papers emanating from that centre have dealt in great detail with the prevelance and severity of the problem. Phillips (1974) surveyed fourteen hundred members of farm bureau councils regarding their perceptions of rural crime problems. Vandalism was the number one concern reported, with traffic offences and drunken driving also ranked highly. A further study by Phillips and Donnemeyer (1982) concluded that acts of vandalism cause considerable economic costs to victims, although vandals tended to perceive it as a "game" or "joke" and "normatively acceptable". Perhaps even more damaging is the fact that, as Donnermeyer and Phillips (1982) note, vandalic behavior increases feelings of vulnerability to violence in its victims, constituting a rural equivalent of urban street mugging. Dahlin et al. (1982), Beran and Allen (1974) and Smith (1979) among other surveyors of rural crime victimization, share the conclusion that vandalism is the most frequently occuring offence in rural America.

The near epidemic proportions of wilful damage and other public order problems in rural areas of the United States, has not been investigated to the same extent in rural Canada. Table II (above), however, indicates that in four of five of these specific offence types, rates in rural areas equal or exceed those in larger communities. Hence, examination of this problem appears urgent, particularly in consideration of the costs in property loss and emotional stress inflicted on its victims.

5. Acquisitive Offences

Community Size	Acquisitive Offences (from Table II) (Personal) Robbery	(Household) B&E-Resid.	(Motor Vehicles) of M.V.	from M.V.	(Public Places) B&E-Bus.	Theft	Fra
						Other	
10,000 and over	138	1005	368	1628	484	2683	53
750 - 9,999	26	410	239	724	452	2112	53
Other	17	561	169	418	284	1203	32

Current theory concerning property offences centers around opportunity. Mayhew et al. (1976) identify four elements influencing crime rates: 1) abundance of goods, 2) relative security of goods, 3) level of surveillance, and 4) occasion and temptation for offence. Tepperman (1977) notes that availability of moveable (and therefore easily stolen) property has equallized in the city and the country. In 1931, urbanities were twice as likely to own a radio as their rural counterparts. However, by 1971, televisions - their current equivalent - were equally prevelant in various sized localities. Tepperman contends that this property equibalance partially accounts for convergence, over that time period, between urban and rural conviction rates. Von Hentig (1967), addressing the issue of guardianship, notes that, in some instances, rurality limits opportunity for property offences. For example, retail stores often double as residences, and low population denaity may restrict thefts from persons and automobiles.

As with violent and public order offences, there is some

evidence that the severity of property crimes may be approximately equal in the city and the country. Laub and Hildelang (1980) reported that the average financial loss from rural crimes, although small does not vary significantly from urban losses, and victims of rural robberies are as likely to be injured as city victims.

Table II reveals a wide variation in the relative frequency of instrumental crimes among urban, small-town and 'other' places in Canada by specific offence. Acquisitive crimes against person (robbery) show ratios of 5 to 1 and 8 to 1, respectively, between urban-small town and urban-other jurisdictions. On the other hand, breaking and entering (businesses) and frauds are about equally common in small and large municipalities, exhibiting a ratio of less than 2 to 1 between these community-types and "others".

The effect of neighbourhood surveillance may, in part, account for the relatively low rate of breaking and entering in small towns, - the only acquisitive offence more common in rural areas than small towns. In general, instrumental offences, are substantially less common in rural areas than in larger communities.

6. The Impact of Law-Enforcement Priority

Community Size	Proactive Enforcement Policy (from Table II) Municipal By-Laws	Provincial Statutes	Vice*
10,000 and over	521	1131	88
740 - 9,999	550	3066	27
Other	34	2637	14

* Vice includes prostitution, gambling and public morals offences.

Provincial statute and municipal by-law infractions seldom come to the attention of police through citizen complaints. More often, they are discovered through routine police patrols or proactive policing strategies. The same is often true of commercial vice including prostitution, gambling and obscenity infractions. Official statistics for such offences are probably the least reliable as measures of offence occurrence, and should be interpreted as indicators of enforcement policies and general community concerns.

Data from the Uniform Crime Reports (see Table II) seem to indicate that, whereas big city police departments must expend considerable resources on controlling vice, rural agencies are able to concentrate more on provincial statutes (mostly alcohol-related) enforcement.

Clearly, urban/rural comparisons of the available data for the above offences cannot be accepted as reliable measures of their relative frequency. Galliher and McCartney, 1977, point out that this is true not only for official police statistics, but of victimization studies as well.

D. Rural Crime Statistics - Theory

1. The Impact of Rural Culture on Crime Rates

One popular explanation for relatively low rural crime rates contends that little motivation has existed for crime in rural areas. Lunden, (1967) suggests homogeniety of occupation and social standards imbue residents with a sense of community responsibility. Quinney (1975), adds that the relative absence of a rural criminal subculture and low levels of gang activity are responsible for a paucity of opportunties for learning criminal techniques and attitudes.

Conversely, Gibbons (1973) points to a relative lack of social bonds, legitimate opportunity and other characteristics of lower class urban life in accounting for higher urban rates. Quinney (1979) further notes that a greater degree of class struggle exists in cities, resulting in higher levels of crime, due to social class alienation.

A number of empirical studies have sought to examine the impact of social variables such as socio-economic status, marital stability and other population demographics on rural crime. However, such attempts have not produced significant correlations. Dada (1979) concluded that the results of his study offered little insight on this subject. Young and Phillips (unknown) found that, contrary to expectations, rural poverty actually associated negatively with crime.

Fischer (1978, 1980) speculates that violent crime is a cultural phenomenon, spread through 'urban-to-rural diffusion'

but, empirical evidence has not been adduced confirming his hypothesis.

Although it appears probable that rural districts are somewhat more 'crime free' than large cities, generalized hypotheses based on the differential social structure of the rural-urban dichotomy have failed to adequately account for these rate differences.

Bottomley (1973) suggests that "official crime statistics provide a barometer of society's attitudes toward its deviant members, rather than an objective measure of social behaviour". In another context, Bottomley and Coleman (1981) note that, in addition to policies of law-enforcement agencies, employers, retail store managers and special interest group biases also affect crime rates. There exists a distinct possibility that the differential influences of such sources may exist in both urban and rural settings, exacerbating problems of comparative analysis.

Further, Hage (1972) notes that there is a conceptual problem in treating legal norms as analagous to conduct norms. He contends that measuring violations of legal proscriptions, may be problematic for theory testing or analysis. In any case changes in laws over time, make temporal comparisons difficult.

2. Validity of the Rural-Urban Dimension as a Crime Rate Variable

Exploration into the nature and extent of rural crime has raised doubts among many criminologists concerning the validity

of urbanization as an independent variable affecting crime rates. Tepperman (1977:222) suggests that "sociologists are coming increasingly to the conclusion that rural and urban people do not differ in crime rates once a few factors are taken into account". Brantingham and Brantingham (1984: 54-5) reject any positive link between urbanization and crime, noting that during the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when urbanization in Europe and America was at a high level, crime rates were generally decreasing.

Freeman (1980), inveatigating the effects of population density stress, concluded that, although crowding is related to more intense social behaviour, no consistent association is evident between population density and crime rates - that is, density is neutral. In a study of the implications of "routine-activity theory", Koenig (1983) also concurs with the opinion that there is no consistent relationship between Canadian crime rates and urbanization. Finally, Buescher (1977) indicates that, although urban and rural crime rates may once have diverged significantly, technological advances in communication and transportation have led to "regional convergence", minimizing current differences.

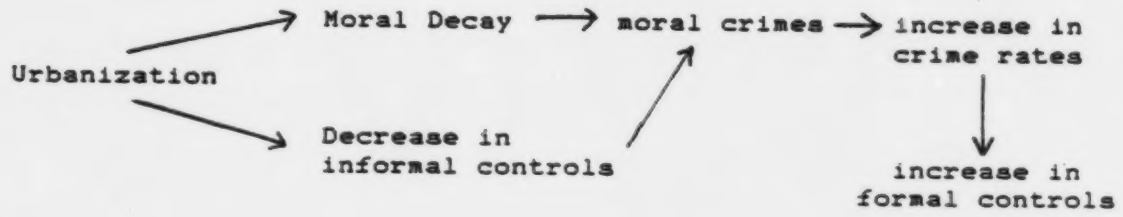
3. Urbanization and Crime - Two Heuristic Models

The following chart, offers two models of the effects of urbanization on crime rates based upon the literature reviewed.

Chart III

Two Heuristic Models of Links Between Urbanization and Crime

A - Cultural Model



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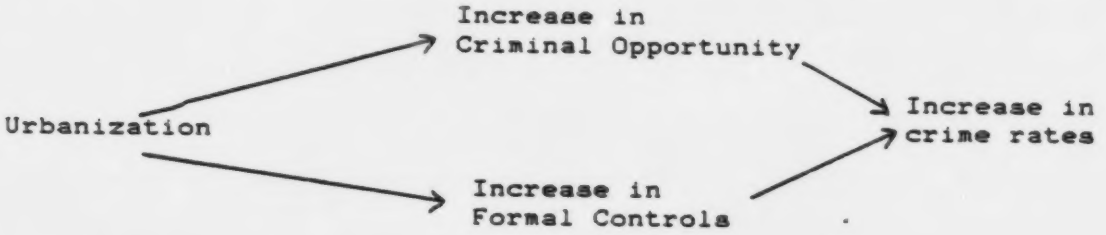
B - Structural Model



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E. Victims and Offenders

1. Correlates of Rural Victimization

Considerable research effort has been directed toward the identification of factors which cause potential crime targets to be more or less vulnerable. Research has repeatedly revealed correlations linking demographic variables, such as, socio-economic status, age and sex with victimization, to be insignificant, across the urban-rural continuum (Phillips and Wurschmidt, 1982; Smith, 1979; Dada, unknown). Larson (1983) hypothesized that 'newcomers' would have a higher victimization

rate than 'old-timers' in rural districts. However his data, based upon length of residence, did not support this hypothesis.

Another series of surveys examined rural victimization in terms of ecological factors. Phills et al. (1976) identified closeness of dwellings to a road and flat land as factors decreasing the likelihood of vandalism and burglary. Similar studies by Kreps (1977) and Milto (1977) discovered a very marginal effect of ecological variables upon rural county crime rates in Ohio. However, a review of Kreps study, conducted by Motoyama et al. (1980) raises considerable doubt about its validity.

A number of American studies have identified a need to reduce the fear of crime in the rural elderly. Donnermeyer et al. (1981) found that persons aged 60 and over are less likely to feel safe at home than younger people. Lee (1982) hypothesized that fear of crime would be more pervasive among elderly people living in cities than rural areas. Empirical evidence did not support this idea completely, although elderly respondents in small towns were found to be less fearful of crime than others. Donnerymeyer et al. (unknown) suggest that older rural women, in particular, are concerned about crime, and recommend that age-integrated community programs become a major focus of housing planning for the elderly.

A final concern of victimology relevant to rural crime has to do with the isolation and extreme vulnerability of rural women to domestic violence. Grayson and Smith (1983) present

evidence suggesting that many rural women fail to seek help for physical abuse. Considering the high official rates of American rural domestic violence, this appears to be a subject worthy of empirical study in Canada, especially since official statistics on domestic violence are not available.

2. The Rural Adult Offender

In the 1940's Marshall B. Clinard (1942) conducted in-depth studies involving the analysis of court records in conjunction with detailed interviews of inmates in an Iowa prison. Clinard's findings revealed most rural offenders to be amateurs, with a lack of criminal sophistication, and motivated, not by profit, but a search for 'thrills'. Unlike their urban counterparts, rural criminals did not begin their criminal activities early in life, and did not consider themselves "criminals", but simply "reckless" and "mobile". Later, (1944) he further typified rural offenders as lacking involvement in personal relationships and community activity.

Gibbons (1972) conducted a more recent study of offenders in three rural counties of Oregon, noting that most respondents shared a self-concept similar to law abiding citizens. Nelson et al (1971) interviewed groups of urban and rural white male property offenders incarcerated in Kentucky penal institutions, hypothesizing that rural inmates would exhibit a more positive attitude toward the law. Results indicated this prediction to be correct, only for first-time inmates. Those rural offenders who had previously been incarcerated reflected the same anti-legal

attitudes as urban inmates.

In 1975, a Canadian study was undertaken seeking to establish correlates of violent crime in a "non-metropolitan area". (P.D. Chimbos and R. Montgomery, 1978, 234-245) The focus of the study was the District of West Nipissing, Ontario. Data were collected between January 1, 1974 and December 31, 1975. Approximately forty-four percent of the population resided in Sturgeon Falls, a town of about 6,500, while the remainder of the respondents lived in small villages, open country or Indian reserves. Two hundred and twenty-four offenders were identified in this region. Major findings regarding offenders revealed the lower SES to be over-represented in violent offences; the age category from twenty-two to forty-nine was also over-represented by a ratio of 1.4:1; natives were over-represented by a ratio of 4.5:1; and forty-two percent of offenders had a domestic relationship with their victims.

Hence, available literature on adult rural offenders reveals them, characterictically, as members of low socio-economic status and less sophisticated, criminally, than urban offenders. They tend to perceive themselves as law-abiding citizens until once incarcerated, after which their attitudes toward the law is likely to resemble that of their urban counterparts. There is also some evidence indicating that members of ethnic minority groups are over-represented in offender populations.

3. Rural Delinquents

A number of rural delinquency studies have been conducted in the United States. Wurschmidt and Phillips (1982) describe most

rural crime, in particular vandalism and break and entry, as 'juvenile' in nature. Dahma et al (1981) undertook one such enquiry, utilizing U.S. juvenile court statistics from 1976 to 1978. Findings indicated that urban, suburban and rural rates of delinquency were 48.1, 47.6 and 32.5 cases per thousand, respectively.

Polk (1967) and Ferdinand (1964) have argued that a 'comparative absence' of criminal subculture exists in rural districts. The opportunities for young offenders to learn criminal techniques and motivation are, hence, not so widely available as in urban areas. More recently, however, Natalino (1982) has contended that delinquent gangs have emerged in rural places, although participation has not reached urban levels.

In a replication of a study conducted in Philadelphia, Polk (1974) observed the criminal behaviour of all second year males attending 14 small town and rural Oregon high schools, in 1964. Twenty-five percent of those studied had a record with juvenile officials by age eighteen, compared to thirty-five percent in a corresponding Philadelphia group. He also reported that the incidence of imprisonment and recidivism were similar between the two samples.

Useem and Waldner (1942) observed, some forty years ago, that youthful rejection of the traditional values of the adult rural community constituted a major source of delinquency. Dahl (1980) confirms that this conflict still exists, and that, in many ways, it is exacerbated by the the rural environment. Small

town and farm youths' delinquent behaviour is likely to result in stigmatization due to the lack of anonymity inherent in lightly populated areas. Dahl contends that this often leads to "community hostility and harrassment" of troubled adolescents. Rural institutions, particularly schools, often lack the specialized expertise to deal with delinquents, and "troublemaker" labelling causes social ostraecism and early school drop-out.

Phillips and Donnermeyer (1982) have identified vandalism as the most frequent act of rural juvenile delinquency and, in a series of self-report studies, found that over half the students in rural Ohio and Indiana high schools admit to having committed acts of vandalism. The typical vandalic occurrence involves a group damaging a private residence on a weekend, causing extensive property damage. In most instances, no one involved is under the influence of alcohol or drugs.

A prototype rural vandal is a male from a single parent family (Phillips, 1982) and, as in Clinard's earlier studies, offenders, generally, do not consider themselves criminals. Hall (1982) also supports Clinard's work, observing a negative correlation between vandalism and family and social activities.

Drug use is common among both rural and urban youths, but tends to assume a more traditional form in rural areas. In a study of 3,947 seventh to twelfth grade Iowa students, 30% of urban, rural non-farm and rural farm respondents reported high alcohol use, whereas marijuana use was reported by 23.1%, 11.1%

and 5.2% respectively (Miller, Hioberg and Ganey, 1982).

Bowker (1976) surveyed drug use among youths in various residential settings, concluding that towns of 2,500 and over, parallel patterns of drug use in metropolitan areas, while smaller town and farm youths remain relatively freer of drugs.

F. Research Issues

A number of researchable issues arise directly from the data provided in this chapter, recognizing the problematic quality of these statistics. Among these, are the following:

1. Meta-analysis of available studies examining comparative reporting behavior of urban and rural residents. The weight of evidence from the literature examined in this review, points to a significant reticence among rural dwellers to report criminal victimization.
This project might be complemented by, and integrated with, the national rural vicitimization survey currently under consideration. A national study of this sort may go a long way toward defining the nature and extent of crime in rural areas of the country.

2. A second, primarily empirical series of questions revolves around the extent and seriousness of violent offenes in rural areas. The predominantly American literature and the official Canadian data (Table II) confirm the existence of this problem. In view of the relative isolation of homes in the open countryside, as it contributes to the vulnerability of females to domestic

violence, there is need for empirical inveatigation of this issue in Canada.

As previously noted, the meaning and extent of vandalism in rural areas represents a type of violence, because of its power of intimidation given the relative isolation of pure rural areas.

3. Of more theoretical interest, is the relationship between economic and crime trends (Bloch and Tepperman, p. 14-15). This problem has been of long-term interest, and sampling of small parametrically limited communities, might allow for a research design capable of producing verifiable outcomes. For example, study populations might include one-industry towns (and effect of unemployment variations), tourist towns (and seasonal fluctuations in crime rates), or effect on crime rates of seasonal influx of itinerant farm workers in rural areas.

III. POLICE IN RURAL COMMUNITIES

A. THE STRUCTURE OF RURAL POLICE

1. Introduction

The development of law enforcement organization in Canada, as in most western countries, has tended to reflect the process of urbanization. Hence, it is not surprising that modern policing structures tend to exhibit an urban orientation.

2. A Brief Historical Note

Social control in Canada's colonial days was effected through a system of "citizen watches", an arrangement which proved ineffective in combatting the surge of crime experienced by expanding municipalities throughout the nineteenth century. In response, the first Canadian police force was organized in Toronto, in 1834 and, by the time of Co federation in 1867, most of Canada's major urban centres had followed suit.

However, rural policing, where it existed at all, remained loosely structured and non-professional. Under the B.N.A. Act, the provinces were given jurisdiction over all law enforcement, except with respect to specific federal statutes. Most provinces, subsequently, assigned each municipality the responsibility for policing within it's own boundries. This arrangement left rural areas under the direct authority of the provinces, which met the challenge through the formation of provincial forces in Quebec, Manitoba, Ontario and British

Columbia. The Dominion Police Force was formed in 1868 as a federal law enforcement unit, and functioned primarily in eastern Canada until its absorption into the R.C.M.P., in 1920.

At some time, every province in Canada has had its own Provincial police force. However, today, eight of the provinces contract with the R.C.M.P. for the provision of policing services in rural areas, the only exceptions being Ontario and Quebec where the O.P.P. and the Q.P.P., respectively, perform this task.

3. Current Police Organization in Rural Canada

The policing of rural Canada is effected through a patchwork of law enforcement agencies. The R.C.M. provincial police and small municipal departments all have a long tradition of rural service. In addition, a relatively new law-enforcement agency type - regional police forces - are making a major impact on the policing of non-municipal areas in some provinces.

The jurisdictions identified in Chart IV apply to the fulfilment of provincial policing responsibilities only, including the enforcement of Provincial Statutes, the Criminal Code and municipal by-laws, where applicable.

CHART IV

RURAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES IN CANADA BY PROVINCE

Province	Small Towns & Villages	Unincorporated Areas
Newfoundland	-R.C.M. Police (prov. contract) -Royal Nfld. Constabulary	R.C.M. Police (prov. contract)
Quebec	-Municipal Police -Q.P.P. (mun. contract)	Q.P.P.
Ontario	-Municipal Police -Regional Police -O.P.P. (mun. contract)	O.P.P.
Territories	R.C.M. Police (federal)	R.C.M. Police (federal)
Other Provinces*	-Municipal Police* -R.C.M.Police (mun. contract)	R.C.M. Police (prov. contract)

*in British Columbia R.C.M.P. provide service in all towns with a population of 5,000 or less.

In addition, for all parts of Canada, including rural areas, the Solicitor-General's Annual Report (1983-1984) states,

> The R.C.M.P. works to prevent and detect offences against federal statutes; ...maintain internal security; and provide investigative and protective services to other federal departments and agencies.
>
> The R.C.M.P. also assists, on request, all Canadian law enforcement agencies by providing services relating to specialized police training, forensic laboratory, identification and information.

4. Organizational Types

Most detachments of the R.C.M.P. and Provincial forces are relatively large and rather bureaucratic. At the other end of the spectrum are small town, autonomous municipal forces which may be composed of as few as one or two members.

Ericson (1982) notes that in Ontario, in the past decade, there has been a trend toward "fewer but larger, more bureaucratic and more centrally controlled police forces". This trend has been clearly manifested in the creation of numerous regional police forces throughout the province. The tendency toward greater bureaucratization of policing service, of course, is not limited to Ontario, but is a widespread phenomenon throughout Canada and other nations. Murphy (1984: 397) points out that many traditional rural forces are unable to meet the currently accepted urban-based standards of modern police bureaucracies (i.e., quantifiable efficiency).

Clearly, formal bureaucratic organizations of rural law enforcement offers significant benefits. Consolidated and contracted police forces bring considerable expertise and insulation from corruption to rural jurisdictions. On the other hand, traditional municipal police departments have a greater capacity for community responsiveness.

The following chart offers a projected model of the two feedback systems involved:

CHART V

Projected Community-Police Information Feedback Model

Municipal Police Department

Provincial---- Local Govt.-----Chief--------Officers------Public
Government

Policy Direction — Operational Discretion

R.C.M. Police

Provincial Government — Police Board

National Headquarters-----Division Headquarters-----Detachment--Officers---Public

Policy — Operational Discretion

Comparison of the two configurations in Chart V (above) indicate that the typical small town municipal force structure permits greater public access to persons or groups potentially capable of influencing police policy and practice then provincial or R.C.M.P. structures. This helps explain the differential capacity of the two police models to respond to community expectations and change.

5. Consolidation

The trend toward centralization of control has resulted in increasing pressure for the consolidation of small police forces into larger, more technically efficient regional units. The notion, however, is not a new one, nor are the arguments supporting it. Noting that increased mobility was making rural

the Canadian Mounted Police and Spanish Armed Guards to the relatively unorganized state of law enforcement in the American countryside, concluding that the solution lay in creation of state police forces. This idea was perpetuated by Smith (1929) in a report on crime in rural Illinois. Attributing the increase in crime levels to increased transportation efficiency, he suggested that the state highway patrol become a branch of the governor's office, accepting responsibility for criminal law enforcement in rural territories. These same themes were expressed by Jones (1939) in a review of policing in rural Massachusetts, as well as numerous other crime and enforcement observers of the twentieth century.

In a review of the current movement toward more bureaucratic structures of rural police forces, Engler and Petinga (unknown) have noted that proponents of consolidationist and contractual arrangements perceive fragmentation of service to be a serious impediment to efficient rural policing. Reports on the effectiveness of larger, more centralized agencies are, predictably, mixed.

A number of reports on rural police departments and evaluations of consolidation programs have been sponsored by the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration in the United States. The reports are quite consistent in their identification of weaknesses in traditional rural law enforcement agencies. Internal operational difficulties with record-keeping, manpower and communications are among the problem areas frequently cited (Wolfe, 1976; Freeman, 1976; Public Administration Service, 1974)

The result of many such investigations has been the endorsement of organizational consolidation in the name of increased operational efficiency. Childers (1977) conducted an extensive review of the county-wide consolidation of police services in Riley County, Kansas, identified as the first attempt at rural consolidation in the U.S., concluding that the project had been generally successful.

Comparative studies of rural consolidation in West Germany (Kaesehagen, 1977) and Scotland (Wilson, 1971) again point to improved service efficiency as the justification for such action. One dissenting view was expressed from Denmark (Danskpoliti;12;256) maintaining that the effectiveness of rural police would be reduced, if the close relationship between small agency operators and their constituents was sacrificed through the creation of expanded agencies.

A tiered-system modification of consolidated rural services has been examined by Koepsell (1977) and the Vermont Governor's commission on the Administrataion of Justice (1974), among others. This type of arrangement typically consists of a traditional municipal police framework supported by specialized manpower and technology services from a central county or state agency. A modified form of this arrangement is actually in place throughout rural Canada, where all local forces receive support services from the R.C.M.P.

6. Decentralization

Although the current tide is toward more formal and

centrally controlled policing in rural areas, some researchers have expressed considerable regard for the resident officer model. Two recent books dealing with this oriental style of law enforcement, exemplified by Japan, may have contributed to interest in this policing model. Bayley (1976) and Ames (1981) were both impressed with the rural Japanese "police boxes" known as 'chuzaisho', which serve as both residence and office for rural police constables. These one-man police departments operate on a very proactive basis, with the 'chuzai san' being an integral character in community social activities and civic affairs. The function of these rural officers is crime prevention through public education, and deterrence through public support and information. Rural Japan exhibits a strikingly low crime rate despite police/population ratios similar to those in North America.

Some observers might feel that Canadian and Japanese culture are so dissimilar as to render comparative organizational research meaningless. It should be noted, however, that one-man police stations have been in existance throughout rural North America since the advent of policing. For example, in Ontario, the O.P.P. have operated one- and two-man resident detachments in remote areas, for many years.

Yetter (1982) examined a series of resident officer programs instituted in the rural United States by the LEAA and suggested that the results were quite positive. Lower crime rates were experienced in some areas, and citizen support was widespread.

7. Private Security Police

Private security agencies are a rapidly growing industry in Canada and most other western societies. However, to date, there is little evidence of their expansion into rural areas. Farnell and Shearing (1972) note that of the 50,210 private security personnel in Canada, fewer than 500 (one percent) were employed in agriculture, forestry, fishing or trapping. So far as quasi-public security agencies, such as railway police, are concerned, McGrath and Mitchell (1981) believe these should be treated as "borderline" police, in view of their limited powers as compared with regular police forces. Hence, private policing agencies play a minimal role in the policing of rural Canada.

B. THE FUNCTIONS OF POLICE IN RURAL AREAS

Rural law enforcement agencies in Canadian society enjoy the same broad and flexible mandate as do urban police forces. They are responsible for prevention, detection and enforcement with respect to a vast, diverse and mutable legal structure, as well as the general maintenance of social order. Wisdom and Bennett (1979) indicate, that in addition, rural forces have, in the absence of other social agencies, traditionally fulfilled a critical social service function. Such a wide, yet imprecise role- definition makes end-product goals difficult to establish according to Goldstein et al (1980) and allows local police managers considerable scope in interpreting their department's proper functions.

Goldstein et al further suggest that the complex and often

insoluble nature of many problems faced by law enforcers creates an imposing dilemma. Policy-makers and the public typically lack the day-to-day experience and expertise to fully understand operational realities and formulate solutions to some of the technical difficulties inherent in the law-enforcement process. However, insights held by the police for dealing with the roots of community problems may be criticized as violations of police mandate. As a consequence, problem-solving tends to be ignored in favour of routine order maintenance tasks, encouraging the acceptance of the enforcement model of policing as the only appropriate and quantifiable criterion of efficiency.

Murphy, (1985) suggests a further reason for the development of this criterion has been the advent of police performance statistics, whereby reported crime and clearance rates offer administrators a source of legitimation of police presence and validation of requests for increased resources and funding.

Such a task definition, creates pressures toward proactive patrolling and limited use of discretion in order to maximize recorded efficiency. Smaller rural municipal forces, having less access to production equipment such as radar, breathalyzers, etc. find it difficult to meet such efficiency-oriented standards, resulting in pressures for consolidation and modernization of rural departments. However, pre-occupation with such internal organizational re-structuring in urban law enforcement agencies has been strongly criticized as reflecting a 'means over ends' syndrome (Goldstein, 1979) this raises questions about the

appropriateness of such emphasis, in the justifiably more service-oriented rural context.

Nevertheless, Murphy's (1984) work indicates that rural police forces in Canada are becoming increasingly bureaucratized, and adopting urban models of organization and role definition. The ideologies of professionalism, rational efficiency and organizational autonomy are profoundly altering the traditional role of rural police in Canda. One outcome of this change appears to be greater emphasis on crime control as opposed to peace-keeping or social service activities. As this change process develops, the differences between rural and urban policing will diminish.

The general consensus in the literature impuning small law enforcement agencies as lacking the efficiency of urban police departments is probably accurate, given that rural police departments are subject to the considerable restrictions inherent in any small organization. The budgetary reality of a small tax-base in relation to vast geographic jurisdictions appears to underlie many of the limitations of rural policing. Gallman et al (1970), reporting a study of rural sheriffs from Arkansas, indicate problematic issues include record-keeping, communications, equipment and manpower shortages. Similarly, a survey of rural British police ranked manpower, communications and transportation as areas of concern according to Isherwood and Holt (1968).

Finally, the lack of specialized assignment, paucity of

social service agencies and responsibility for operating a lock-up, impose severe strains on available manpower.

Unlike the rural municipal police force, rural R.C.M.P. detachments are afforded significant specialized back-up from the parent agency. On the other hand, their highly professionalized style of service-delivery may gives rise to other difficulties. It has been noted by Ward (1982) that although traditional rural police organizations may appear inefficient, the introduction of urban-designed policing policies may not suit the rural environment, and should be carefully tested for rural applicability before being instituted (Ward, 1982: 61).

A broad statement of goals and standards for rural policing on a provincial basis might help clarify the functions of small municipal forces. Such a provincial policy statement must, however, be sufficiently general to permit local agencies to remain sensitive to community standards and circumstances.

C. POLICY ISSUES

1. Introduction

Policy decisions with regard to both structure and operations are handled in a dichotomous fashion by rural Canadian police forces. In the traditional municipal structure, the chief of police, perhaps with some input from local governing authorities, is responsible for such matters, whereas in R.C.M.P. policed areas, policy emanates from a central authority for the entire force. Such policy may undergo greater or lesser modification at the hands of divisional administrators before

being imparted to the detachment level.

2. Enforcement Policy

Weisenfeld (1977) has noted that criminal enforcement priorities in rural municipal police departments are selected on the basis of community needs and political considerations. The ability to respond to local circumstances is essential in the formulation of effective policy, since geographic and economic factors can cause great variance in crime patterns in various rural jurisdictions. In local municipal forces, routine incidents are normally left to the 'police sense' of the individual officer, with little written formal policy. When new operating procedures are required, due to changing circumstances, or new legal enactments, peer consensus regarding appropriate police action may form the basis of policy change. For example, certain offences often committed repeatedly by a given offender, and, essentially, a type of 'folk crime', are usually handled through verbal warnings if the perpetrator is respectful and exhibits deference to police authority. (Homans, 1950). This type of informal field disposition has come under attack by some authorities. Kagan (1983), in a memo to British police, suggests that such 'curbside probation' is too risky, recommending that official action be taken whenever warranted.

In response to this position, Shapland (1983) has noted that the one-track prosecutorial system discourages reporting of minor disturbances, maintaining that an alternate procedure for officially recording such incidents, without instituting formal charges, would be preferable. Given the traditionally high

tolerance of rural dwellers to 'folk crimes' and less serious offences, Sunderland (1982: 182-195) argues for police concentration on career-criminals, leaving less-serious infractions to informal, lay control.

However, it remains an empirically unresearched issue as to how and to what degree rural police practice informal dispute resolution. Murphy (1985) suggests that this tendency to define and process disputes informally varies with the organizational ideology and structure of a police department. The more bureaucratic and crime producation oriented the police department, the more folk crimes will be formally defined, processed and recorded as crimes.

3. Patrolling

The distribution of limited manpower over large geographic areas poses unique difficulties for rural police patrolling (Donnermeyer, 1979). The potential effectiveness of rural police patrols is dependent upon which of three inter-related purposes is being addressed:

A. Crime detection: Studies have shown the capability of random patrols to detect crimes in progress to be minimal in metropolitan areas, and given the low-density of police per square kilometer in rural districts O'Block et al. (1982) suggest such practices would be even less effective. This conclusion finds support in the low proportion of rural offences which are discovered through police sources as reported in the R.C.M.P. Selkirk study (R.C.M.P., 1984).

B. Deterrence: As in the case of detection, there is little consensus that increased police patrol can provide an effective deterrent to crime, even in cities, and Wilson, (1982: 243) contends increased patrols in non-metropolitan areas have been clearly ineffectual. In a study of this issue by Lexington County, South Carolina Police, increased levels of manpower and patrol cars were utilized over a one-month period. Knapp et al (1980) indicates no effect on crime rates was observed. Another related project conducted by the Michigan Office of Criminal Justice (1982) involved employment of secondary road patrols. These patrols actually "out-produced" primary patrol units, but no indication of crime or accident reduction ensued.

C. Police presence: Rural communities, by definition, are lightly populated and, hence, vulnerable to such fear-invoking crimes as vandalism and disturbing the peace. Decker (1979) points to the conservative character of the countryside and suggests the existence of a penchant for normative order. In surveys conducted in two rural Manitoba R.C.M.P. detachment areas, (R.C.M.P., 1984) over twenty-five per cent of the residents complained that "police (are) never around", which was about double the proportion of such responses from town residents.

Providing a significantly increased sense of police presence would, presumably, alleviate some concern, although to achieve this at an effective level, would be an expensive

to achieve this at an effective level, would be an expensive and difficult task.

Considerable effort and funding have been expended over the past few decades in formulating computer-designed police patrol strategies for urban areas. However, the strategies extrapolated from these systems have been found less ineffective in the rural environment and attempts to design specific rural patrolling patterns have been undertaken in Canada (Lipett et al., 1975), Britain (Broome et al., 1977) and the United States (Pollock et al, 1982). The stated primary function of these wide area patrols has been to reduce response time to calls for service. However, O'Block et al (1982: 152) point out that time of arrival of police (TAP) is a function of multiple variables, including detection, reporting and response times, of which reporting time is identified as the most critical element.

It would appear that sophisticated patrolling strategies might better address the issue of creating a police presence, in view of the limited ability to strengthen deterrence through more rapid detection and reporting by rural victims.

4. Crime Prevention

It has become clear in recent years that increased levels of law enforcement, alone, cannot effectively reduce the level of criminal victimization. Ward (1982) notes that rural criminal vulnerability is a community problem, and, as such, the entire responsibility cannot be placed on the local police. However, as the practitioners of law enforcement, the police possess the

requisite knowledge of local crime patterns and target-hardening strategies to act as a primary consulting resource in assisting community crime prevention efforts (Wilson, 1982: 241). Indeed, a survey of rural American sheriffs identified the formation of crime prevention groups and target-hardening as two major conditions for significant crime reduction.

The allegation has been made that crime prevention efforts such as neighbourhood watch and operation identification do not reduce crime, but merely displace it. No empirical substantiation of this charge has been located in our literature search, however. Repetto, (1976:166-177) has, in fact, convincingly challenged the basic assumptions on which displacement theory is based, namely, that: 1) offenders are "totally deterministic and inelastic", and are driven to commit a pre-determined number of offences "per day, per week or per month" and, 2) offenders have knowledge and flexibility to shift operations from one location to another.

Griffiths et al, (1980) suggest that Canadian police organizations are resistant to any re-definition of their current operational philosophy. Wilson, (1982: 244) describes rural police, in particular, as conventional, enforcement-oriented and not slow to undertake a new task, such as community crime prevention. He further suggests that the typical American police response to pressure to become involved in rural crime prevention has been to re-label routine patrol as "preventive patrol", or to undertake minimal initiatives, ensuring the failure of such

programs.

5. Crime Analysis And Policy Planning

Effective future policy planning must be based upon economic and social factors affecting rural Canada as a whole. Koenig (1983: 968) has suggested long term trends relating to routine activity theory should be analyzed in order to anticipate and proactively confront future crime developments. Koenig (p.106) further encourages careful differentiation between long- and short-range crime analysis, arguing that although consideration of a broad range of factors is essential to understanding the future of crime in rural Canada, such aggregation is likely to be misleading in specific short-term planning. McCauley (1982: 168) of the National Crime Prevention Institute contends that crime analysis is the most basic and logical first step in the development of specific crime prevention programs. Different crime patterns, he suggests, call for different responses, and observes, further, that urban-developed programs may or may not be appropriate in a given rural jurisdiction. Identification of local priorities, through analysis of crime data, therefore, is critical in evaluating crime prevention efforts, as well as in the development of enforcement policy and patrolling strategies.

A U.S. Department of Justice (1977) report asserts that crime analysis should avoid complex statistical procedures, and concentrate on the collecting of information useful to enforcement practitioners. McAulay, (1982: 174), maintains this would seem particularly desirable in rural jurisdictions, where

such techniques as pin maps, M.O. files and simple memos would likely be more readily accepted than sophisticated mathematical analysis and formulations.

6. Training

Little has been written on the training level of Canadian rural police, or curriculum content of training programs of police colleges. R.C.M.P. recruits receive their basic training from the Canadian Police College in Regina, regardless of where they may be stationed. Training of municipal police officers, however, is variable.

Chapin's (1982) study of American rural sheriffs indicates that higher levels of training are being provided, with "psychology" and "common sense administration" receiving major emphasis. Law enforcement degree programs from college-level institutions increased dramatically from 184 in 1967, to 664 in 1976, and rural states have begun to experience high enrollments in these courses.

The American literature generally reveals, however, that on average the rural officer receives little formal training. Sandy and Devine (1978) and Norman and Ward (1982) identify budgetary considerations, lack of temporary replacement personnel, disinterest on the part of police chiefs and officer reluctance, as primary obstacles to formal in-service training programs.

Ziochover and Rush (1984) describe one significant attempt to address these problems undertaken through a co-operative

effort by twenty-seven counties in Southern Illinois. A training coordinator was appointed and on-site interviews with rural chiefs conducted to formulate an effective program design and encourage participation. The response was encouraging in terms of both high enrollment and positive participant evaluation.

A survey of rural police attitudes with respect to the type of training received was conducted by Daniel Dye (1982) in an effort to measure the attitudinal effects of police academy, in-service and community college-type training. While self-selected demographic variables were found to have no significant effect upon enforcement attitudes, the type of training received was discernible through data analysis, indicating college training to be associated with "positive" attitudes. Another study of the effects of police training utilized pre- and post-testing of police cadets attending the Tennessee Enforcement Training Academy in Donelson, Tennessee. Teasley and Wright (1973) concluded that police academies do not promote "desired" attitudinal modification and may, in fact, produce undesirable attitudes.

7. Police and Practice

The movement toward organizational models involving consolidation or of small public organizations is premised on improved operational efficiency, and the professionalization of police. Handberg and Unkovic (1982) surveyed rural and urban sheriffs in an attempt to measure their respective levels of professionalism, concluding that, although rural sheriffs might

have been expected to score lower, levels of professionalism were virtually identical for both groups. Regoli and Poole (1980) note that, in both suburban and rural police, professionalism reduces officers' role-conflict. Self-regulation was the aspect which was critical in the rural subsample, group, whereas autonomy was only one factor among several of concern to urban police.

D. OPERATIONAL ISSUES

1. Introduction

Little information was located relating to the internal dynamics of rural police departments. Decker (1978) conducted a three-month study of a semi-rural force in Indiana, noting that rural police tend to have a high degree of occupational solidarity, stemming from their homogenous personal backgrounds. Murphy (1984) in a study of 30 small municpal police departments and ten R.C.M.P. detachments, suggests the mechanisms of authority in Canadian rural policing form a distinct dichotomy. On one hand, bureaucratocally organized forces, exemplified by the R.C.M.P., O.P.P. and Q.P.P., have formalized ranking and authority structures, whereas municipal police chiefs, constrained by police unions and an uncertain politi cal relationship with the municipal government must rely more on informal measures to negotiate their authority with the police rank and file.

In general, national and provincial forces have highly centralized, pyramidal authority structures, while inter-rank

relationships tend to be formalized, with role-specialization at all but the most senior administrative levels. Relations in smaller municipal forces are more informal, the authority structure is flatter, and each person must be a generalist. No doubt, there are advantages to both systems, although the appropriateness of the less flexible, bureaucratic model for rural policing must be considered problematic.

2. Calls For Service

Small town and rural jurisdictions, as noted, vary widely in terms of population demographics (including homogeneity), and routine activity patterns. Calls for service, consequently, vary greatly between communities. Nevertheless, some general patterns have been observed. Punch and Naylor (1973: 13) report 75% of rural calls to be for services other than law enforcement, as compared with 59% for the combined rural and urban sample. Murphy's (1984) analysis of small town police activity also indicates 75% of service calls to be non-crime related. Bristow (1982) notes a tendency for rural citizens to call on police for such assistance as non-crime emergencies and drunkenness.

A study by the of R.C.M.P. (1984) of services provided in the rural Manitoba areas of Selkirk and The Pas reveals a somewhat higher rate of crime-related service calls. In both rural jurisdictions, law enforcement comprised about half of all public requests, with the town detachments indicating a slightly lower level. The generally high level of criminal victimization calls in this report may be attributable to methodological

inconsistencies in the definition of calls and/or information gathering techniques. It may also be an artifact of the law enforcement orientation of the R.C.M.P.

Although overall crime/non-crime service call ratios for the two town versus rural detachment areas were quite similar, some rather striking attitudinal differences were apparent. While residents ranked alcohol-related offences as the most frequently occurring crime problem in all four survey areas (Table S9), town calls reporting drunkenness were about three times as frequent as in the surrounding countryside, whereas the rural areas reported two to three times as much impaired driving and other liquor law violations (Table S1). Also, the police stationed in town were more frequently called upon for disturbances and non-alcohol related driving violations.

Call patterns in the rural portions of the two regions, however, differed considerably. In the rural The Pas, "assistance to the general public" was the most frequent type of call (25.8% of all calls), while reports of drunkenness and assault were three times as high as in the Selkirk neighbourhood. In this more suburban region, reports of traffic accidents constituted the most common call for police service (15.3% of all calls). The contrast in service calls between these two rural areas serves to underline the extent of regional differences in rural areas of the country, even within a single province, and, further, identifies the link between community-type and police function.

3. Community Relations

Research into police/community relations has identified a number of factors which correlate with public perceptions of the police and level of satisfaction with police services. However, when these variables are considered in the rural context, some inconsistencies result. Cox and Fitzgerald (1983) assert police compliance with community standards to be a major factor in the quality of police-community relations. Incidents reflecting dissensus tend to be a source of mutual dissatisfaction between law enforcers and the public. In this regard, Decker (1979), in a case study of a rural Indiana sheriff's department, noted that police were, generally, "typical" citizens, with local values and, consequently, attuned to public expectations. Sims (1982), similarly, reported finding a high level of police integration into the community in rural society. Consequently, a relatively low degree of police-community value conflict was apparent.

Janeksela et al (1976: 18) contend the exercise of discretion in the application of sanctions produces a more positive assessment of law enforcement. They further note that such informal handling is most common in rural communities, therefore hypothesizing a negative correlation between community size and public satisfaction with police.

The literature suggests that perhaps the most critical element in public evaluation of police performance may be the nature and frequency of previous contact with police. There have been two significant Canadian studies of this issue, Koenig's

(1974), British Columbia survey, found recent contact with police as a result of victimization correlated with lower evaluations of police performance. Similarly, Hylton (1980) found police contact to be a negative variable in community perception. Given the lower rates of reported crime in the countryside and lower police/population ratios, lower levels of police contact might be assumed for rural residents, presumably contributing to a more positive police image.

These findings suggest that more homogenous police-community values, greater practise of informal dispositions by police and fewer police/community contacts in rural areas should result in a higher degree of community satisfaction with law enforcement agencies. Empirical research, however, does not appear to support this conclusion.

Janeksela et al (1976: 23) in their study of seven N.E. Minnesota communities, found that, contrary to their hypothesis, attitudes toward police were most positive in large cities and least positive in rural communities. From the Canadian perspective, Thornton (1975) also reported the degree of urbanity to be positively associated with evaluation of police.

The explanation for these apparently contradictory findings may reside in the small sample sizes used in many instances, as well as the broad range of regional disparity, already noted. It may also be that general theories of this type are not useful in predicting the interaction of such variables within a specific rural environment.

One theory which may further explain this contradiction involves the suggestion that citizen perception of police in rural areas stems more from their social role than professional behavior (Decker, 1978). This theory is also suggested by Sandy and Devine (1978), who point out that lack of anonymity results in rural officers being perceived as policemen even when not on duty (Decker, 1978). Consequently, citizen evaluation of rural police may not be comparable to urban perceptions.

Several miscellaneous explanations of low rural police esteem identify a variety of causes. Cox and Fitzgerald (1983) believe that the presence of expensive equipment and large produce reserves have vastly increased the attractiveness of farm property for criminal victimization. Rural dwellers tend to mistakenly attribute this growth in criminal activity, however, to police incompetence, rather than the altered environment. James Olila, Director, Rural Crime and Justice Institute, St. John's University (1975: 1) blames low police status primarily on the deterioration of rural community solidarity. Finally, Chapin (1982) points out that some American rural discontent is based upon the belief that corruption is still present in many rural sheriff's departments.

On the other hand, the sources of this rural alienation from law-enforcement agencies may have deep cultural roots, arising from the urban quality of law, itself, as well as the rationalistic modes of enforcement practiced by bureaucratic police agencies. Rural dwellers may prefer less restrictive and

formalized mechanisms for dealing with non-conformity, especially where dispute resolution is called for.

In Canada, a survey of two rural R.C.M.P. (1984) detachment areas in Manitoba, revealed very different perceptions of police performance. The Selkirk sample had a 57% approval rate of police performance, whereas only 38% of The Pas respondents considered their performance "good". Examination of the data suggests that this general differential evaluation response may have been associated with conflict betwen police and the significant native population of The Pas. Of The Pas respondents, 39% believed "treatment of minorities" to be a problem, whereas this was true for only 5% of the Selkirk sample. Whatever its true sources, there is consistent evidence indicating the rural public holds its law enforcement agencies in lower esteem than urban citizens.

4. The Police And The Media

There is some concern that media representation of rural crime levels may distort and negatively affect public perceptions with respect to the rural environment, and indirectly, contribute to inadequate law enforcement resources in those areas. Hanberg and Unkovic (1982: 69) suggest that the media tend to concentrate on high profile urban law enforcement issues, whereas rural coverage is typically "aporadic and perpetuates misguided notions of both the rural environment and it's law enforcement officers." Ward (1982: 49) complains of negative and inaccurate portrayal of rural law enforcers by the media, asserting that the resulting misunderstanding of community policing needs affects

the decisions of policy-makers.

In spite of these alleged problems with media coverage, Handberg and Unkovic's (1982: 78) survey indicated rural American sheriffs reported positive relations with local news media, with only about 16% citing the media as "unfriendly" - approximately the same ratio as in an urban sample.

5. Police Personnel Characteristics

Very little information is available about the personal characteristics of rural police officers. Galliher (1975) reported that the mean age of rural police officers in Missouri was 44.9 years, about four years older than their big city counterparts. This study also noted that rural officers were less likely to have attained a high school diploma, with 38% having not finished school. A number of studies have noted the greater likelihood of rural officers being 'local boys' (Handbert and Unkovic, 1982; Ward, 1982). Handberg and Unkovic (1982), in a rather extensive survey of Southern and Southwestern United States sheriffs, concluded that rural sheriffs have a high level of conservative role definition. Also noted was a high degree of community involvement outside of law enforcement services. Although Ward (1982) has observed that such a situation encourages the likelihood of officers sharing the basic characteristics and values of the community, Sandy and Devine (1978) point out that locally born rural officers tend to have pre-conceived ideas about members of the community. The tendency toward localized recruitment, regardless of its effect, may be

unavoidable since low salaries and lack of promotional opportunity serve to restrict the number and quality of potential applicants in rural areas.

Shook (1982) undertook a survey of American police attitudes toward decriminalization of non-violent consensual sexual contact and found rural police attitudes less favourable than others toward de-criminalization. Findings from a study by Wasby (1976) showed rural police to be lacking in knowledge of the law and inadequately trained in this respect.

So far as job-satisfaction is concerned, and in spite of some minor differences, Phillips (1976) found that rural officers seem to experience approximately the same level of job-satisfaction as urban police. Donovan (1971) contends from his research, that urban and rural police are generally similar in terms of behavior, personal characterictics and their perception of both the local community and their function within it.

The lack of Canadian data regarding characteristics of rural law enforcement officers seems absolute. The general profile of U.S. rural police may or may not be applicable to Canadian rural municipal officers. It is unlikely, however, that these American findings would apply to the R.C.M.P.

6. Stress

Contrary to the popular belief that country policing is relatively low key and lax, there is considerable evidence that many factors unique to servicing rural areas cause at least as

much stress on personnel as urban peace-keeping.

A not insignificant body of research indicates that the physical environment and severe budgetary constraints combine to make the rural officer's job both tedious and dangerous. Bristow (1982) points out that rural police may be on call 24 hours a day, and are frequently called upon for non-crime assistance. Sandy and Devine (1978) suggest that after long periods of relative inactivity, which tends to produce boredom and resultant stress, the rural officer may find himself in an isolated location confronting a serious crime or domestic situation with no back-up. In particular, they believe the lack of anonymity afforded police in the rural setting limits their ability to function narticular, they believe the lack of anonymity afforded police in the rural setting limits their ability to function normally in the community, as civilians and, thus, produces personal anxiety.

Sims (1982), in discussing the vulnerability of rural patrol, notes that, in addition to the shortage of back-up units, there is an abundance of weapons common to the countryside, which exacerbates the stress inherent in handling isolated calls. Sims further indicates that, in addition to low salaries and minimal training, the proximity to local political power-holders may cause additional pressures.

In a rare, empirically-based, comparative analysis of rural and urban police, Phillips (1976) found that sheriff's deputies in Louisiana actually experienced more stress than city police.

ariable task definition was not found to be significantly correlated with stress, although low salaries and negative perception by their supervisors and the public led to low job satisfaction levels.

7. Delivery of Services (for cognate data, see pages 69-72 of this report)

Public order in rural jurisdictions has long been based upon informal controls (Galliher, 1971). Country folk it is argued are inclined to personally handle or ignore many offences which would be reported to police in the city. Furthermore, rural police themselves have a tendency toward avoiding formal sanctioning when possible. Karr (1978) suggests that rural residents will not tolerate proactive law enforcement and, therefore, minor offences are unlikely to be dealt with formally. Johnson (1964) concurs with this opinion, pointing out that lower police concentrations and less 'formal' expression of public opinion result in more informal sanctions for minor transgressions.

Murphy (1983: 378) describes small town Canadian municipal police forces as employing an operational style which is necessarily flexible and often informal, due, in part to, a lack of resources and the tendency by indigeneous police organizations to reflect the cultural environment in which they have developed. Comparative studies in the United States and Great Britain have drawn similar conclusions. Gaffney and Gaffney (1981) observed a small town force in Oregon, and found most police dealings with

.ie public to be casual and friendly. In another American study conducted in rural central Indiana, Decker (1979) reported that homogeneous community standards encouraged a style of informal field resolutions. In a comparative 1983 paper dealing with rural crime in England, Shapland noted that arrests do not usually result from order maintenance functions.

Ward (1982) points out that one inherent limitation of the typical small rural agency is the inability to practise task specialization among personnel. An outgrowth of this general assignment structure, combined with the frequent absence of other social service agencies, is that rural officers must deal directly with various crisis situations, rather than performing a more limited referral role (Wisdom and Bennett, 1979). Since rural police do not usually have training in handling such difficult situations as domestic disputes, substance abusers and suicidal persons, they are compelled to rely primarily on common sense and ingenuity, when confronted with these circumstances.

Nevertheless, Shearing and Leon (1977) argue that labelling police as "social workers" or "law enforcers" is inappropiate, in that it is a combination of the police officer's personal skill and authority which enable him to handle crisis situations successfully.

Perhaps the most pervasive characteristic of service delivery in the rural police agency is the extensive use of discretion. Decker (1978) observed that in rural Indiana officers frequently refrained from ticketing or arresting

offenders on their promise to modify their behavior. An empirical study of domestic dispute disposition along the urban-rural continuum conducted by Bell (1981) produced a positive association between community size and the likelihood of arrest of offenders. Further, rural police were also more inclined to provide referrals to domestic violence programs. Murphy (1984) points out that the use of discretion is more common in police agencies with low levels of bureaucratization. This would suggest that American reports of informal handling of criminal and domestic situations may be more relevant to Canadian rural municipal forces than rural R.C.M.P. detachment personnel.

E. RESEARCH ISSUES

1. Community-Based Policing in Non-Metropolitan Regions

Currently, the major issue related to policing and police agencies concerns community-based policing. In their monograph on this subject, Murphy and Muir (1985, 96-103), raise a number of questions related to the meaning of community, in this context, and the implications of various community types for community-based policing.

The manner in which this new policing model might best be operationalized in small towns and open countryside has yet to be systematically explored in Canada. A number of issues arise from the foregoing literature review, including the following:

a. Reluctance of rural people to report occurrences to the police has been well documented. Since the community-based model of policing involves ongoing public involvement, it might be assumed this relationship between law-enforcers and

the public will modify the traditional reticence of rural dwellers to communicate with police with respect to criminal incidents.

Any plan to implement community-based policing must take account of this isue. In the proposed research design, there should be provision for a survey of public attitudes toward the reporting of offences. In particular, the reasons for any reluctance should be investigated through questionnaires and/or interview.

It might be useful to arrange meetings between police, public and court officials in which attitudes expressed through the above procedures would be probed and examined.

b. The literature also indicates an exaggerated community influence on policing practices in non-metropolitan areas. The research design should seek to test hypotheses related to the relative effects of alternative policing models on community influence.

c. A third set of issues raised by the literature concern the centralizatin/decentralization of police organization in towns and open countryside. In Canada, this issue concerns the use of R.C.M.P., provinical, regional and/or municipal forces.

The relative advantages and disadvantages of each model for various community-types would be weighed. It is quite possible that various models would prove most appropriate for particular community types.

This issue would need to be studied from the perspectives of

all parties, including the public, the police and all levels of government. Cost-effectiveness, public relations, and governmental constitutional prerogatives would require consideration. (In this connection, the Putnam vs Alberta ruling of the Supreme Court of Canada would receive attention.)

d. A further matter arising from the literature related directly to consideration of community-based policing has to do with the use of police discretion. The literature suggests rural police and small town municipal forces appear to make greater use of discretion in dealing with alleged offenders informally than other types of police organizations.

Under a community-based policing model, the use of discretion would clearly take on a different meaning and impact than in conventional policing styles. The implications for the use of police discretion for each organizational model and, in each community type, would need to be investigated.

e. A final matter dealt with in the literature is the relatively low esteem in which police are held by rural people. In the survey analysis proposed above, scales should be included to measure public approval of police and general level of esteem in which they are held. Sources of esteem or its absence should be tapped. This information would be valuable in designing appropriate policing strategies for use in these communities.

2. Single Officer Units

The appropriateness of single-officer units for rural

policing might also be the subject of investigation. Generally referred to as the "oriental" model, and often dismissed as unsuited to the North American scene without adequate testing, this organizational type may, in fact, have considerable merit. Similar units used by some provincil police orgnaizations appear to have proven effective.

A research project on this subject might begin with thorough investigation of the Canadian experience with this type of unit. The nature and impact of the "police presence" which it brings to the locality should be carefully evaluated.

3. Availability of Social Services

The literature indicates that lack of social services in rural regions impacts upon police services. This lack places demands on police for direct services, where in urban settings, referral would be made to a community agency.

4. Crime Prevention

Finally, the literature reveals the need for study of crime prevention in rural areas, analagous to that currently underway in urban communties. What should be the role of rural police in this matter? Ought they continue to provide organizational leadership, or should their role be primarily that of resource persons? If crime prevention initiatives are to come, primarily, from the community, how is it to be mobilized for this purpose?

IV. THE RURAL COURT

A. INTRODUCTION

The court is the fulcrum of the criminal justice system, lodged midway between law enforcement agencies and correctional institutions and programs. In this respect, rural courts hold the same pivotal position as those in urban settings.

The literature dealing with rural courts is almost entirely American in origin and subject matter. However, many of the issues addressed would appear to have sufficient relevance to the Canadian scene to warrant examination. Problems concerned with jury selection will be of less concern, here, than in the United States, since the use of juries in Canada is considerably less common.

In this report, the available literature on rural courts has been organized around two major themes--disposition of cases and the maintenance and upgrading of rural court performance standards.

B. RURAL COURT DISPOSITIONS

1. Sentencing Disparities

Much of the research on sentencing has focussed on the problem of unwarranted or excessive disparity in sentencing patterns. The Iowa Office for Planning and Programming Statistical Analysis Center (1980) produced a rank ordering of

eighteen counties in the state according to commitment rates for felonies. While lacking obvious theoretical significance, this document does establish the existence of systematic disparities in commitment sentencing practices in those jurisdictions.

In a comparative study of urban, suburban and rural sentencing patterns, Austin (1982: 31-37) found no systematic disparity among the three court settings. On the other hand, in a major Canadian study of sentencing among Ontario magistrates, Hogarth (1971: 370-1) found that "urban magistrates were considerably more punitive in their approach to sentencing than were rural and small town magistrates". Of all magistrates interviewed, "young, well-educated, rural" incumbents were the "least punitive". Hogarth also demonstrated a relatively high level of statistical correlation between magistrate's attitudes and actual sentencing practices, especially when response variables were subjected to factor analysis (152-9).

With respect to juveniles, however, several studies revealed tendency among rural courts to impose more severe sentences than others. DeJames (1980) concluded, from examination of official national data, that proportionally more juveniles are incarcerated for offences by rural than urban courts. Comparative corroboration of this pattern comes from an Australian study in which Kraus (1981: 285-296) observed that, in New South Wales, significant regional differences exist in sentencing, noting that generally, urban courts (with designated 'children's magistrates) were more lenient than rural courts (where "regular" judges presided). The major exception to this

regularity was that urban judges referred a larger percentage of juvenile cases to higher court. Finally, Griffith (1981) discovered that, even within rural districts, this differential bias exists. Comparison of dispositions between the main and satellite juvenile courts in a rural Western state, indicated that more severe sentences were imposed at satellite offices than at the main court setting.

Analysis of court records has also revealed systematic biases against certain social categories of offenders. For example, in his Iowa study of rural courts, Austin (1982:31-7) observed that non-whites and older offenders received more severe sentences than others. Generally, he maintains "extra-legal factors" are given more weight than by urban courts. Using data from a western Canadian province, Hagan (1977) noted that Indians received more severe sentences from rural than urban courts. They were also more likely to be incarcerated for fine default in rural than urban courts.

2. Sources of Rural Court Biases

Several authors have commented on the informal, flexible and community-oriented character of rural courts, suggesting that these factors influence sentencing outcomes (Austin, 1978, 1982; Fetter, 1982: 147-158; Eisenstein, 1982; and Golden, 1982). In an insightful and comprehensive survey of rural courts, Eisenstein observes that participants in the rural legal process are drawn from "the homogeneous local elite", who share common norms and values. They frequently know each other, personally,

and interact on a day-to-day basis. Further, their courtroom performance has high local visibility. Griffiths (1981: 6-13), believes the homogeneous quality of the local rural environment confers greater influence on members of law enforcement agencies, thereby contributing to sentence severity.

Golden (1982: 38-42) refers to the atmosphere of the rural court as being generally "non-adversarial", arguing that both prosecutors and defence counsels tend to opt for guilty pleas wherever possible. In a more moderate vein, Decker (1978), using court records from a rural Indiana county, finds that only about 53% of all cases involve negotiated pleas, while this figure rose to 75% of public defender caseloads, an outcome he considers consistent with urban court practice. However, since a disproportionate percentage of rural defendents are indigent and, therefore, must rely on court-supplied legal services (Golden, 1982), they are more likely than urban accused to enter a guilty plea and be sentenced for the alleged offence.

No data have been located measuring the comparative effectiveness of legal aid representation in rural Canada. However, a study in the Kingston, Ontario area of utilization of legal aid clinics operated by law students from Queen's University, reveals that, despite widespread media advertizing, few of the very poor or geographically isolated residents were aware, or made use of the service (Snider, 1981). A similar study of legal aid services in Nova Scotia also found a negative association between distance from legal aid office and resident awareness of the services available (Poel, 1983).

Other miscellaneous, but by no means insignificant, equity problems reported by American investigators include the difficulty in selecting impartial juries due to the intimacy and folk quality of rural life (Fetter, 1977).

In summary then, two major sources of sentencing bias in rural areas have been identified from the available literature:

1) the high visibility and informality of the rural court, resulting largely from the homogeneity of the environment, influence the court performance of officials, particularly through the conferring of increased influence on members of local law enforcement agencies; and

2) the widespread dependence of rural residents on court-supplied counsel appears to create an unfavourable bias against the poor.

3. Correcting Rural Court Sentencing Abuses

The dilemma in correcting inequities in rural court dispositions is the risk of losing the obvious advantages of the flexibility and informality of the rural court setting (Thorne, 1976: 301-316) in order to achieve the benefits of disinterested decision-making and professionalism. Fetter (1982) identifies one dimension of the problem when he asks whether the primary criterion of appointment to the rural bench should be familiarity with the local community or professional expertise. Ginsberg (1974), appears to value judges' familiarity with local

conditions as a distinct asset in arriving at appropriate dispositions. Fetter (1982: 255-271), cautions that those contemplating changes in rural court structure or process need "an understanding of rural court needs and concerns". Any attempt at reform would understandably be perceived as threatening by rural court participants, who probably enjoy wide public support for the dispensation of a brand of justice consistent with local social and moral standards.

Thorne (1976) believes abuses arise primarily from the biased use of discretion, and suggests this might be minimized through the "quantification" of procedures, appointments of more qualified personnel and improved record-keeping. In another proposal for rationalizing procedures, Eisenberg (1982) identifies the ad hoc assignment of legal aid counsels by judges as a contributor to ineffectual defence. He proposes the adoption of a "coordinated system" which would draw from both private bar and public agencies on a systematic basis.

Little empirical data are available with respect to the Canadian court environment and dynamics in rural areas. Where circuit courts are used, problems emanating from local community influence or intimacy among participants may be minimal. On the other hand, the scheduling of circuit timetables sometimes result in undue delay in hearing of cases. (Venues are usually the responsibility of lay administrators or senior members of the bench.)

Legal aid services in Canada constitute an aspect of provincial responsibility for the administration of justice, and,

consequently, a variety of systems prevail throughout the country. As a result of his investigation of the Queen's University legal aid system, Snider (1981) recommended greater community control, and special training of student volunteers.

The shortage of literature relating to potential or actual differentiation in sentencing practices between urban and rural courts in Canada constitutes a serious research omission. That all Canadians, regardless of their residential environment, deserve adequate and equitable court and related legal services is apparent. The existence of such conditions cannot be merely assumed, but should be investigated through empirical enquiry.

C. MAINTENANCE AND UPGRADING OF RURAL COURT STANDARDS

1. Current Weaknesses of Rural Courts

Rural courts are perceived to be inadequate in several respects. From analysis of 97,000 juvenile court referral forms in one state from 1966 to 1968, Pawlak (1980) concluded rural justice systems provide fewer pre-trial intervention programs, resulting in a larger proportion of juvenile offenders being processed by the court than in urban centers. He also noted rural juvenile courts use fewer diagnostic services than urban courts. Wheeler (1982) reports a related problem in adult court--that rural courts often do not enjoy the services of a "pre-trial officer", responsible for arranging release of accused persons, pending trial, resulting in the detention of many persons, who might otherwise be released. In a two-county study

in Illinois, Brakel (1969) found a serious lack of diversionary and diagnostic facilities for marginal offenders, particularly alcoholics, the mentally ill and juveniles. In a Colorado juvenile offender study, Moore (1980) noted the need for more counselling services, shelter care, recreation, health and sex education, and employment services, while, at the same time, questioning whether maximum use is being made of available diversion programs. Fetter (1977), in a national study, observed a lack of adequate training for rural court personnel, as well as a general shortage of facilities and equipment. Finally, at a more technical level, Ginsberg (1974) made the point that the recruitment of district attorneys on a part-time basis, while they continue to engage in private practice, creates a distinct risk of conflict of interest occurring, while Hogue, et al (1977), in an inveatigation of twenty-nine urban, suburban and rural court systems in Virginia, uncovered a statistical association between the caseloads of states' attorneys and the proportion of felony cases going to court, suggesting that decisions to proceed with criminal occurrences are affected by the availability of staff to handle them, rather than on legal grounds.

One matter deserving of separate consideration concerns the widespread use of volunteers by rural courts in the United States. (Fetter, 1977, 1982; Stoth, 1977). Such persons may augment professional staff services, by keeping records, counselling juveniles, or providing probationary support services, including residential shelters. Since this extensive

use of volunteers is perceived as evidence of under-funding of rural courts, it tends to be defined in essentially negative terms. While, no doubt, there are certain technical or sensitive functions which are likely to be performed more efficiently or confidentially, by professional staff (such as record-keeping), the use of volunteers in the criminal justice process may be perceived as highly desirable. Clearly, it reveals a level of community involvement and responsibility which, on face value, must be evaluated positively. On the other hand, there is the risk that the dependence of the court on the goodwill of volunteers may endow such lay persons with undue influence over the legal process.

In general, investigators appear to share the opinion that the presence of volunteers, the use of part-time professionals and occasional lay judges represent an impairment in the quality of personnel staffing rural courts.

2. Sources of Rural Court Problems

Numerous authors appear to consider inadequate funding to be the major source of problems confronting rural courts (Toews, et al, 1977; Eisenberg, 1982; Eisenstein, 1982; Ginsberg, 1974). There can be little doubt that budgetary constraints at the state and county levels make it difficult to provide services on a par with those available in urban court systems. This problem is compounded by the small populations spread over broad areas served by rural courts. As Fetter (1982) observes, under such circumstances, "economies of scale", applicable to the urban

settings, are not possible.

Nevertheless, funding is not the only factor contributing to problems of rural courts. Eisenberg (1982: 150-171) notes the existence of resistance to outside intervention as a significant factor. Eisenstein (1982) also refers to resistance to change as characteristic of rural systems of justice.

Most researchers also appear to consider the strategic impact of local community opinion an impediment to the development of a progressive and disinterested system of justice (Eisenstein, 1982; Austin, 1978). So far as jury-performance is concerned, however, Ginsberg (1974: 35-51) adopts the opposite position, arguing that community attitudes "enhance the conduct of juries" rather than detract from it.

While there is a general dearth of material dealing with Canadian rural courts, one notable exception is an article by W.G. Morrow (1974) in which he describes the legal structure in the Northwest Territories. The supreme court of the Territories follows a fixed schedule in the larger centres, visiting smaller communities as occasion demands. Appeals from decisions of local magistrates may be heard by telephone. A flexible, somewhat ad hoc form of justice appears to result from these procedures. However, it would clearly be inappropriate (in some instances, impossible) to follow normal rules of due process, and apply the letter of the law in this quasi-aboriginal setting.

In this region, several weeks or even months delay in hearing of cases is not unusual, but, due to the remoteness of

most communities, accused persons are rarely held in custody pending trial. On the other hand, some concern over the impact of judges, prosecutors and legal aid lawyers travelling together from site to site must be felt. One would wonder whether or not biases similar to those observed in small rural American settings would not develop. These are the social settings in which "Kadi" justice arise (Matza, 1964: 118-124) with its common accompaniments of mystification and compromise.

In the Kingston area report, problems related to the delivery of effective legal aid services to indigent and/or isolated residents were considered to result primarily from lack of effective supervision and "the limited commitment" to the program of many students (Snider, 1981).

In summary, the major sources of problems in the effective and equitable administration of justice in rural areas are identified in the literature:

1) inadequate funding;
2) resistance to change;
3) immediacy of community influence; and
4) the necessity of service delivery over a wide expanse of territory (as exemplified by conditions in the Canadian North).

3. Upgrading Rural Courts

The foregoing review indicates that rural courts face problems which have both fiscal and cultural roots. Problems

related to physical facilities, equipment and staffing vacancies could be redressed simply through the injection of more funds into the system. An interesting and detailed document produced by the Illinois Law Enforcement commission (1977) sets out a proposal for the implementation of fifty-five criminal justice standards in fifteen counties of Southern Illinois. It is apparent that a large proportion of these changes could be realized, more or less, immediately, if the necessary funding were available.

However, the literature also makes it apparent that not all problems of the rural courts are fiscal in nature. There are cultural factors which have negative or at least, problematic effects on the administration of justice in rual communities, and these two types of problems are not unrelated. As already noted, the community is able to wield power over the courts, in part because it supplies certain services through volunteers, for which the courts cannot afford to pay.

The problem, however, goes deeper than this. The rural justice system is imbedded in the local community and tradition to an extent not true of their urban cournterparts. They are, in a sense, captive agents of the local environment. In Eisenstein's words (1982: 106),

> The social and economic structure, the nature of the political system and the beliefs that underlie it, the characteristics of hte populace and the physical features of the land they inhabit/ and the nature of the criminal incidents that arise, all influence the other elements in the (legal system).

In commenting on the general quality of the personnel who staff rural courts, Cronk (1977) concedes it is difficult to attract the most desirable recruits to such positions, even if finances were not an issue. Being removed, geographically and socially, from the professional mainstream renders such situations singularly unattractive to many competent practitioners.

Without directly addressing either of the above issues, Cronk (1982) puts forward a proposal for coordinating legal services with other human service agencies, to increase efficiency and reduce overlap. A somewhat different option is indicated by Fetter (1982) in his reference to the establishment of regional courts in Idaho, a part of a consolidation program. He also points out that technological innovations may be used in rural courts to achieve efficiencies in operation, mentioning specifically, the use of long-distance telephone, telecopier, videotapes, and closed-circuit television. However, rules of due process, especially those referring to the admissibility of evidence, would preclude or restrict the use of such devices in some jurisdicitions, although as previously noted, some of these practices have already bent court protocol in certain respects in the Canadian Northwest Territories.

To conclude on an optimistic note, attention is drawn to an article appearing as a chapter in a book entitled Victims, Offenders and Alternative Sanctions, in which the authors describe what appears to be a highly successful interventionist restitution program for juvenile ofenders, in three rural Minnesota counties. This type of program lightens the court

calendars, while permitting offenders to avoid the stigma and other negative consequences of criminal conviction.

Another report describes an innovative program operated by the Creighton Legal Information Centre in Omaha Nebraska, which provides research findings and other information of legal significance to rural attorneys by telephone and mail. The service is sponsored by Creighton University law School and utilizes the institution's resources and law students. It appears to have been widely accepted by the surrounding rural legal community, and was named "an examplary project" by the LEAA (L. Stuart and H.L. Wise, 1977).

The rural court, then, emerges from the literature as a relatively conservative, autonomous entity, so far as the broader judicial system is concerned, constrained in it day-to-day operations by the local culture in which it is deeply enmeshed.

D. RESEARCH ISSUES

1. Availability of Services

The available literature regarding rural courts is almost entirely American. The picture that emerges indicates that rural courts face essentially the same problems as police with regard to the lack of non or quasi-judicial services. There are fewer interventionist, diagnostic and non-carceral options available to the courts.

To ensure equitability of services between rural and urban jurisdications, reserach is needed to investigate the nature and availability of judicially-related sevices. The design of the

study should include nample courts from a variety of rural and urban settings. In addition to collecting factual data about available resources, interviews with police and court officials would be necessary to ascertain the types of services considered desirable by these functionaries involved in the rural court system.

If the Canadian situation conforms with the American pattern reflected in the literature, substantially increased funding will be essential to bring rural court facilitites in line with urban standards.

2. Sentencing Disparity

The literature reveals a level of sentencing disparity in rural courts warranting investigation, if it exists to the same extent in Canada. Ambiquity exists concerning relative severity of sentencing between ruban and rural courts. There is some indication of sentencing bias in rural courts against members of ethnic minorities, older offenders and juveniles. Data for rural Canadian courts on this matter could be obtained fairly readily.

Sentencing bias and disparity in rural American courts is largely attributed to the flexibilty and informality of court procedures. There is evidence that these condtions permit undue influence on court decisions by local community interests and law enforcement personnel, a possibility which should be examined in any Canadian study.

3. Legal Aid Services

The literature reveals numerous inconsistencies and weaknesses with respect to the provision of legal aid services. This is a provincial responsibility in Canada, and different

types of organizational structures are used across the country. Evaluations have been carried-out recently in a number of provinces to measure the adequacy of existing provisions.

A comparative study of these legal aid systems might be undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of the various models. Research already completed has indicated some problems in the provinces studied, including the fact that the poorest residents, living in the remotest regions are likely to be the least informed concerning the services available to them.

V. RURAL CORRECTIONS AND TREATMENT PROGRAMS

A. Juvenile Delinquency Issues

Diversionary programs have had a major impact on juvenile sentencing patterns in many progressive urban courts. Calls for the application of similar schemes in rural areas have been numerous - Johnson (1978), DeJames (1980), Chambers and Miner (1980) and Bolton and Brown (1978), to name a few. Unfortunately, the urban design inherent in many new programs renders them unsuited to the countryside.

However, a number of youthful offender projects intended specifically for the rural environment have received positive evaluation from investigators. Johnson (1983: 67-86) describes efforts by rural social workers involving counselling and guided self-help activities, and emphasizing the potential value of traditional community support groups, such as churches and service clubs. Other interesting reports include Unkovic's (1975) appraisal of a summer camp operated for delinquents in Michigan, and a youth-operated employment program in the small town of Topsfied, Massachusetts (Lawless, 1980).

In addition, Little (1979) describes the benefits of two projects undertaken in rural Iowa, aimed at youth crime prevention. One involves the implementation of a van service offering transprotation for young people who are intoxicated and need a ride home. The other is a project to inform students of the risks and seriousness of vandalism (a major problem in many rural jurisdictions). For serious, but non-threatening rural

delinquents, non-carceral alternatives, such as group homes and probation services have been recommended by Bolton and Brown (1978) and Brown (1980), among others.

A booklet issued by the office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, L.E.A.A., provides a description of programs for delinquents and pre-delinquents in nine rural communities located in various regions of the United States (A.D. Little [ed.], 1979). The purpose of the publication is to provide information on exemplary projects for youth at the local community level. These range from family partners and non-secure detention programs to runaway networks and foster home projects.

One further issue in juvenile - as well as other - rural projects and services involves the problematic nature of operationalizing and maintaining programs and policies emanating from outside the local community. For example, Jankovic (1980) examines the effect of the 1974 legislation in New Jersey, designating juvenile status offenders as a separate offender category, needing supervision and guidance, rather than punishment. Jankovic found that, while certain ameliorative facilities had been established in several jurisdictions, the legislation had no discernible effect upon the processing of status offenders by the police or courts. In his judgement, this constituted a serious omission in implementation of the new legislation.

As observed in the "nature and extent" portion of this reivew, "juvenile" public order offences are very common in rural Canada. A necessary first step toward reducing rural delinquency

is the investigation of the current status of programs and services for youths, as well as sentencing dispositions of Canadian young offenders.

Rather than developing general programs for rural juvenile crime reduction, a thorough analysis, documentation and cataloguing of diversionary programs and non-secure detention facilities - with emphasis on suitability to the Canadian rural environment - is required. To be successful, new strategies to deal with rural delinquency, must meet community-specific needs, identified through local input and co-operation.

B. JAILS AND PROBATION IN RURAL AREAS

Local jails in rural United States have been subject to widespread criticism. Kerle (1982), Katsampes (1982) and Handberg and Unkovic (1981) have all identified physical maintanence, poorly trained or untrained staff and a lack of rehabilitative effort as areas needing improvement. Katsampes (1982) urges the implementation of new programs and facilities. On the other hand, Handerg and Unkovic attribute local jail problems primarily to inadequate funding, calling for the consolidation of small uneconomic facilities in order to enhance staff training and ensure minimum standards.

From a more positive perspective, Haley and Smith (1982) report on a relatively new detention centre in Linden, Alabama, which, in spite of inadequate physical facilities and severe shortage of space for creative programming, operates a highly effective inmate services system, through co-operative

arrangements with nearby agencies. They recommend that other local jails seek to compensate for inadequate specialist staffing through similar agreements with hospitals, mental health clinics, vocational rehabilitative centres and colleges or universities. For example, arrangements might be worked out with the latter for field placement of students to work with inmates as counsellors or in other mutually-rewarding capacities.

An older paper, dealing with rural corrections, (Gillin and Hill, 1940) compares urban, rural-farm and rural non-farm probationers in Wisconsin in 1933-5. Among other outcomes, this empirical investigation reveals that rural-farm probationers received less supervision and had lower violation rates than other members of the sample.

C. VICTIM-ORIENTED STUDIES

Victim-related research in rural regions tends to be focussed primarily on children and female spouses. Typically, articles document the extent of the problem, and describe or recommend remedial programs for treatment and/or prevention. Focussing on child abuse and neglect are papers or reports by Chamberlain (1976), and Sefcik (1978), as well as two agency reports by the Appalachian Committee for Children's Rights (1978) and Wyoming Department of Health and Social Services (1978). One article on this subject also appeared in the Juvenile Justice Digest (author unknown, 1984).

Articles on domestic violence dealing with rural spouse abuse primarily describe educational and preventative programs. One workshop manual, by Fortune and Hormann (1980) offers

guidance for agencies attempting to address the problem of domestic violence in non-urban areas, while an article in Trial (author unknown, 1984) describes programs currently in use to reduce domestic violence. Three articles dealing with rape prevention and/or victim treatment have also appeared in recent publications (Hoggard, 1978; Kradel, 1978 and Davenport and Davenport, 1979). The last-named paper provides a very thorough overview of the nature of the sexual assault problem in rural areas, offering insights related to the effects on victim, rural community dynamics and design for effective treatment programming.

D. RESEARCH ISSUES

1. Rural Corrections

There is very limited literature on the subject of rural corrections. The major concern centres on the lack of non-carceral, community-based, diversion and diagnostic programs for youthful offenders in rural areas. In view of the recent implementation of the Young Offender's Act in Canada, and its emphasis on "Alternative Measures", investigation of the current availability of such programs in rural regions would appear urgent. Without a deliberate attempt to ensure investigation of the situation in rural areas, funds currently available for researching of various aspects of Y.O.A. impelmentation, are likely to be expended entirely in urban communities.

2. Victim Programs

With respect to treatment programs for rural crime victims, only a few articles were located. These, quite predictably, focussed on the needs of child and female-spouse victims. No doubt, these matters could be adequately addressed by the national rural vicitmization study being considered by the Department of the Solicitor-General of Canada.

3. Drug-Related Issues

Finally, and surprisingly, only one paper was located dealing with drug abuse in rural areas. While the distribution (trafficking) of illicit drugs in rural regions is integrated into regional operations and may not, therefore, be effectively studied in isolation, problems related to possession and use may assume quite distinctive characteristics in sparsely-settled regions. This matter, hence, may quite properly claim the attention of the research community.

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